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## UA35/11 Student Honors Research Bulletin

WKU Honors Program

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WESTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY  
STUDENT HONORS RESEARCH BULLETIN  
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The Western Kentucky University *Student Honors Research Bulletin* is dedicated to scholarly involvement and student research. These papers are representative of work done by students from throughout the university.

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## PREFACE

As the outgoing editor of the Western Kentucky University *Student Honors Research Bulletin*, I am delighted to acquaint readers with a major change that was made in this issue. Instead of the 8 1/2 x 11 photo edition which we had in the past, we now have a type-set edition, complete with justified margins and a journal format. My gratitude goes to everyone who helped implement this important change.

Another change in this issue involves temporarily grouping the departments of government and sociology together. As you recall, when these papers were written, government and sociology were no longer a part of the College of Business and Public Affairs but had yet to be assigned to another college. Out of necessity, the Honors Committee felt obliged to regard them—for the purpose of paper selection—as constituting a separate entity.

Finally, I wish to congratulate the students whose work is represented in this issue and to thank the members of the various college screening committees for their contributions. I am sure that my successor will find editing the *Bulletin* as interesting as I did.

Walker Rutledge, Editor

**Reconstituted Families:  
Counseling Concepts and Applications**  
*by Rebecca L. Condis*

In recent years there has been a marked rise in both divorce and remarriage involving children. Cherlin (1978) contends that if current rates continue, approximately one-third of all young married people will become divorced and approximately four-fifths of these will remarry. Researchers estimate that presently 25 million adults are stepparents, that one out of every six children is a stepchild, and that these figures are likely to go even higher (Bartlett, 1979). Although the reconstituted family with its children from previous marriages has become a common phenomenon in American life, it is a complex structure for which its members are likely to be poorly prepared.

There has been very little attention given to the problems of reconstituted families by society or mental health professionals. Most studies have focused on understanding and working with children in these families because it is usually their behavioral problems which cause reconstituting families to seek professional help. Recently, however, due to the increasing number of stepparents, bolstered perhaps by the transitional state of the modern nuclear family, stepparents have begun to talk about their problems and feelings and to seek professional help with their struggles in coping with complicated and emotionally-charged stepfamily situations. Clearly indicated is a growing need for members of the helping professions to develop an understanding of and the necessary skills to facilitate the successful integration of reconstituted families.

**Inadequate Institutionalization of  
Reconstituted Families**

Reconstituted family members are plagued by inadequate institutional support. Recent studies (Aldous, 1974; Walker, Rogers, & Messinger, 1977; Cherlin, 1978) have shown that either the normative expectations are ambiguous or are no longer accepted by individuals; or there is a lack of normative guidelines for solving many common problems of their remarried life. Consequently, families must resolve difficult issues themselves, often resulting in



conflict and confusion, and sometimes, divisions among family members.

Law is both a means of social control and an indicator of accepted patterns of behavior. In examining family law, Cherlin (1978) found that it assumes, for the most part, that reconstituted families are similar to nuclear families and ignores the special problems of reconstituted families.

The absence of clear legal regulations concerning incest and marriage between stepparents and stepchildren and between stepsiblings intensifies normal difficulties in channeling sexual impulses of family members (Mowatt, 1972; Fast & Cain, 1966). In some instances overt sexual relationships occur; however, even when sexual impulses are not carried out, the perceived or felt sexual attractions between family members may cause a myriad of difficulties in attempts by reconstituting families to achieve solidarity.

In addition to the obvious possibility of abrogating the primary husband-wife bond (Fast & Cain, 1966), felt sexual attraction for a stepchild or perceived potential incest by the natural parent can precipitate role strain for the stepparent. In such instances, attempts by stepparents to demonstrate affection or to discipline a child may be intolerable to either or both (Mowatt, 1972; Fast & Cain, 1966), or felt sexual attraction by stepparents may be masked by a pseudohostility which serves to protect them from their sexual impulses (Goldstein, 1974). In either case, these stepparents may experience role stress due to their inability or difficulty in measuring up to their role expectations.

Brother-sister sexual relations are less taboo than parent-child incest, and the absence of blood ties in reconstituted families weakens the taboo even more. Teenagers who have not grown up together but are suddenly living together may find themselves in a variety of intimate situations at a time when they are naturally curious about sexual matters. As a result they may develop sexual fantasies and attractions for one another (Visher & Visher, 1978). Stepbrother and stepsister liaisons do occur which may shake the family considerably (Maddox, 1975). Other stepsiblings who have developed sexual feelings for one another may find the attraction unacceptable and avoid interaction entirely or obscure their feelings with pseudohostility (Visher & Visher, 1978), thereby diminishing family solidarity.

Cherlin (1978) found that there are no legal provisions for balancing the financial obligations of individuals to their spouses and children from current and previous marriages or for defining the

inheritance rights of stepchildren and of current and ex-spouses of a deceased spouse. Usually the absent parent makes payments for child support, and often the situation is reversed and the stepparent is making support payments to another family. Since the amount of support is dependent upon the number of children and the financial status of the supporting parent, children of the new marriage and children of the previous marriage may have quite different financial expectations although both live in the same household. Differences of opinion about whether the support payments should be used exclusively for the designated children or as a part of the total family resources may cause considerable conflict between or within families (Bitterman, 1968). Children who ordinarily would have inherited from their father or mother may resent a new spouse or stepsiblings whom they find may take away from what might have been their portion (Maddox, 1975). Without legal regulation, reconstituted families are left to resolve these problems themselves.

Maddox (1975) noted that the law does not formally acknowledge the status of stepparent by recognizing a legal relationship between stepparent and stepchild. Although many stepparents assume financial responsibility for their stepchildren, they have no legal obligation to do so. Freedom from this responsibility rests on the fact that there is no legal relationship. Correspondingly, although many stepparents assume physical possession and care of their stepchildren, they have no legal custodial rights. This legality not only becomes a matter of crucial importance if the stepparent's spouse dies; it also has the potential of creating emotional insecurity within the reconstituted family. With no legal parental rights, stepparents may fear losing the children they have grown to love, stepchildren's natural anxiety about stepparents withdrawing affection may be compounded, and natural parents may harbor doubts about stepparents' commitment to their children.

Language is society's means of expressing its ideas and feelings and, therefore, it is an indicator of established concepts and customs. Our society lacks adequate terms for describing the relationships created by remarriage. This inadequacy is both a symptom and cause of disfunctional family life in reconstituted families (Cherlin, 1978).

Modern stepparents and stepchildren fumble and hesitate for appropriate terms when they introduce each other or describe their relationships. Step-terminology has such negative overtones that many feel uncomfortable or simply refuse to use it. Yet, natural parent terms can be confusing when addressed to both natural and step-parent of the same sex; and they can cause resentment or jealousy if the displaced natural parent or stepsiblings feel threatened



by their use or the stepparent does not wish to be addressed with terms which imply natural parent ties (Cherlin, 1978; Maddox, 1975; Visser & Visser, 1978).

For extended relationships created by remarriage, the lack of terminology is even more acute. There is no term children living with their mothers can use to describe their relationships to the women their fathers remarry or to these women's parents; and in joint custody arrangements the terms "home" and "family" become ambiguous (Cherlin, 1978).

These linguistic inadequacies reflect the absence of institutionalized definitions for many of the roles and relationships in reconstituted families.

There are no established guidelines for behavior for the reconstituted family; there are, however, expectations and beliefs held by society which create a gambit for the credulous reconstituted family member.

Reconstituted families are often beset by society's belief that love happens instantly. Recent studies (Visser & Visser, 1978; Maddox, 1975) have shown that there is an expectation in most reconstituted families that new stepparents will almost immediately love their new stepchildren. As a result, many stepparents force themselves to meet demands that are beyond them emotionally or neglect their own children in an attempt to prove to their spouses and stepchildren that they really do love them. These attempts often lead to ensuing guilt, moral condemnation, resentment, intensified sibling rivalry, and a diminished capacity in the stepparent to fulfill the parenting role (Thompson, 1966; Bernard, 1971; Visser & Visser, 1978; Fast & Cain, 1966).

Goldstein (1974) and Visser and Visser (1978) found that stepmothers often have the delusive expectation of fulfilling all the love and nurturance which they feel their stepchildren desperately long for and need, only to find the children unresponsive and indifferent. Children, as well as adults, take time to develop love and trust. In addition, the children's feelings of desertion, betrayal, or disloyalty may mitigate against the development of positive feelings toward the stepparent. Unaware of these factors, the stepmother's hurt feelings and anger may precipitate mutual rejection, thereby obstructing family integration.

Another common trap awaiting the unsuspecting stepparent is created by society's belief that stepparenting is easier when the stepchildren reside with the other natural parent (Maddox, 1975; Visser & Visser, 1978). In fact, society does not consider a stepparent a stepparent unless the stepchildren reside in his

household. However, the week-end or part-time stepparent, stepmother in particular, is becoming a modern phenomenon (Maddox, 1975; Howe, 1979), and in actual practice is a very difficult and emotionally taxing role. Maddox found that these stepmothers often complain about the unfairness of the frequency and timing of their stepchildren's visits (usually weekends and holidays) which are supposed to be happy every minute; the money their husbands spend in an attempt to win back the children's affection; the children's ingratitude; and the maternal duties they, supposedly child-free, are expected to perform.

The studies of Fast and Cain (1966), Visser and Visser (1978), and Walker et al. (1977) have shown that society's expectations and beliefs imply contradictory stepparenting functions. Society expects the reconstituted family to emulate the nuclear family model and encourages the stepparent to assume the natural parent role. Contrarily, society believes that the original nuclear family still exists and expects the stepparent to defer to the parental rights of the displaced natural parent or to accept the legacy of a deceased parent. Consequently, stepparents may expect to assume the role of natural parent only to be repudiated by their spouses or stepchildren who have different expectations; or they may expect to assume the role of non-parent only to find either or both natural parents expected them to shoulder the responsibility of parenthood. Most stepparents, however, are confused and uncertain about their appropriate roles as stepparent and are likely to encounter the same confusion and uncertainty in their spouses (Fast & Cain, 1966; Mowatt, 1972; Bartlett, 1979; Messinger, Walker, & Freeman, 1978; Visser & Visser, 1978).

The absence of a comprehensible role definition of stepparent is probably the most crucial obstacle to the successful integration of the reconstituted family. In fact, Visser and Visser (1978) contended:

Much of the counseling of stepparents by professionals is unproductive because the therapist... considers that the original nuclear family still exists or that the stepfamily needs to operate within the nuclear family model. (p. 254)

Not only do society's role expectations imply contradictory functions; society's attitudes toward divorced and remarried individuals are contradictory to their expectation for shared parenthood. For although divorce has become more prevalent and has lost the taboo it had two generations ago, society still expects divorced persons to be natural enemies (A. Schwartz, 1968) and conceives it to be disruptive for children to have two homes rather



than one (Grief, 1979). Society is suspicious of former spouses who succeed in working out a relationship conducive to the welfare of themselves and their children (A. Schwartz, 1968).

Wallerstein and Kelly (1977) found that some of the questions uppermost in the minds of divorcing parents are due to the absence of normative guidelines and customs and their need to make important decisions and establish new behavior precedents. Correspondingly, Messinger et al. (1978) reported that the discussions of their remarriage preparation groups concerning how to deal with interactions between members of both marriages confirmed the lack of established practices. Consequently, encounters between ex-spouses are often charged with pseudohostility, awkwardness, and pretense; parents are deficient in appropriate judgment in their new conduct with their children; current and ex-spouses are confused about the appropriateness of their behavior and conversation in their various unavoidable contacts; and shared parenthood is an inaccessible goal.

Divorce changes family relationships, but it does not sever them; and instead of replacing these relationships, remarriage adds to them. However, as long as society insists on perceiving divorced family members as separate, even hostile, it will have an adverse psychological affect on their achievement of assimilation in their families of remarriage and create a barrier to their achievement of solidarity in the reconstituted family (Bernard, 1971; Abarbanel, 1979).

### Developmental Stages of the Reconstituted Family

The reconstituted family is similar in some respects to the nuclear family; however, its dissimilarities distinguish it as a family system of its own right. In the nuclear family, the establishment of the primary husband-wife relationship precedes parenthood, and parents and children have the opportunity to grow into their relationships and work out their styles of nurturance and discipline over a period of time. The reconstituted family, however, is abruptly confronted with these integrative tasks which must be resolved simultaneously at a time when everyone is anxious and upset (Goldstein, 1974; Visser & Visser, 1978; Ransom, Schlesinger, & Derdeyn, 1979). Further complicating these integrative tasks, is that each family group brings to the reconstituted family a separate previous-family history, therefore, different memories, conceptions, and expectations of family life (Bitterman, 1968; Bernard, 1971). Another factor which

distinguishes the reconstituted family structure from the nuclear family structure is the extended kinship network created by the remarriages. Not only must new roles, relationships, and arrangements be established for the new primary family, but also for the complex extended family (Walker et al., 1977; A. Schwartz, 1968).

Ransom et al. (1979) have conceptualized three developmental stages of the reconstituted family limited to the period prior to and immediately surrounding the initial formation. Comparable to Erikson's conception of individual development, each stage represents a developmental crisis and presents the family with specific tasks which must be resolved in order for the family to adequately cope with the next stage.

### Stage 1: Recovering from Loss and Entering the New Relationship

Ransom et al. delineated recovery from the loss of the previous marriage family as the preliminary task of individuals who will later comprise the reconstituted family.

Several authors (Walker et al., 1977; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1979; Ransom et al., 1979; Wiess, 1976; Schlesinger, 1970) have stressed the emotional trauma which parents and children experience as a consequence of death and divorce. All experience, to some degree, feelings of anger, guilt, grief, rejection, abandonment, or anxiety. If not resolved, these emotional ties bind previous family members together in ways which are destructive to themselves and their new family units.

Divorced parents must successfully work through their own feelings of guilt, anger, and resentment and put aside their personal differences so that they can work together to meet the needs of their children. Bitterman (1968) has noted that "For all children who have experienced the divorce of their parents... there has been an interruption in the process of learning to love and be loved" (pp. 219; 220). Research is clear (Grief, 1979; Messinger et al., 1978; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1977) that children's open and easy access to both natural parents will be conducive to their management of this interruption, as well as to the successful resolution of their ambivalent feelings toward their parents, their acceptance of the reality of the divorce, and their adjustment in the remarriage families.

The second task of Stage 1 involves forming new relationships. Sometimes the relationship with the subsequent spouse is established prior to the divorce, and the formation of the new relationship is part of a continuum rather than a distinct step. Bitterman (1968) found that frequently in such cases, the divorced spouse has failed to



come to grips with the causes of the imbalance in the first marriage, and potential difficulties in the new marriage have not been foreseen or have been dealt with primarily through denial. More likely, however, the divorced parent, as well as the widowed parent, will remain single for a period of time. Personal and relational developments during this period, coupled with the emotional repercussions of the loss, will give rise to reluctance in both parent and child to invest in a new relationship.

Maddox (1975) and Bernard (1971) found that resuming the dating process can be a bewildering experience for the widowed or divorced. Many attest to the embarrassment and discomfort of having to participate in an adolescent activity; not knowing how to conduct themselves; and having to contend with the "gay divorcee," "merry widow," and "swinging bachelor" clichés. The family and community of the widowed who wishes to date may consider it disrespectful to the deceased. Because youth seems to consider interest in the opposite sex its exclusive domain, and particularly not that of parents, many grown children show disapproval of their parent's dating openly or in the guise of indulgent condescension or amiable tolerance. Parents with younger children are encumbered by the tasks of finding and paying a babysitter, the criticism and preferences of their children, and the mere presence of their own children when courting. Consequently, withdrawal is frequently more inviting than achieving new and complex changes in self-concept and relationships.

Messinger et al. (1978) and Visser and Visser (1978) found that sometimes feelings of guilt for causing the pain experienced by their children make it difficult for divorced parents to make a choice between the right of the adult and the happiness of the child. Feeling that they must make up for the divorce, these parents often feel they must devote their lives to their children and relinquish their rights to seek satisfaction from other adults and to remarry. Correspondingly, children who assume some degree of responsibility for causing their parents' divorce or are unable to relinquish the fantasy of reuniting their parents, may find it difficult to accept or form a relationship with the parent's new partner (Kelly & Wallerstein, 1977; Bitterman, 1968).

A common response to the stress of separation is the development of a close and mutually supportive relationship between the custodial parent and child. This relationship can make the establishment of a new love relationship more difficult because the parent is likely to experience guilt for no longer needing the child and suddenly excluding the child from many once-shared activities, and because

the child's fear of abandonment by the only remaining parent is likely to intensify (Messinger et al., 1978; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1977; Fast & Cain, 1966).

Messinger et al. (1978) found that frequently after a divorce a woman will achieve a new-found sense of individualization. Taking pride in her new self-concept, confidence, career, and financial independence, she may be apprehensive about making a new commitment for fear of regaining a dependency status.

The studies of Wiess (1976), Wallerstein and Kelly (1977), and Messinger et al. (1978) indicate that both death and divorce precipitate a disorganizing and reorganizing process which extends over a period of time, and it is often several years before personal and social stability is restored and new relationships can become both stable and gratifying.

#### Stage 2: Conceptualization and Planning of the New Marriage

Goldstein (1974) found that divorced individuals almost always doubt their abilities to establish and maintain relationships and fear repeating failure. In addition, both natural parents and potential stepparents may doubt the stepparent's capacity to fulfill a stepparenting role and fear their children may not accept a stepparent. Ransom et al. (1979) delineated coming to terms with these doubts and fears as the first task of individuals planning to remarry.

The second task requires investing in new family members as primary sources of emotional gratification. Duberman (1975) found that the establishment of a primary bond between husband and wife has a significant influence on the successful integration and stability of the reconstituted family. Because the stepparent will naturally displace the child, the parent must relinquish some of the special closeness which developed between them during the separation period (Ransom et al., 1979).

Maddox (1975) advised that the question of adoption should be discussed before the marriage takes place. She found strong arguments both for and against the adoption of children by their stepparents. Although it provides a sense of emotional security for some and solves the problems of relationship terminology, legal rights, and vagueness of incest taboos, adoption also destroys the children's link to half of their biological family. Walker et al. (1977) cautioned that adoption in itself will not create an emotional tie and may generate unrealistic expectations of a parent-child relationship.

The children must solve the difficult problems of defining the relationships of the remarriage families and, perhaps, the problem of



loving two parents of the same sex. Maddox (1975) and Howe (1979) maintain that absent natural parents and stepparents who can put aside resentments and differences can profit from children's openness and honesty to help their children define their numerous and complex relationships. Children will sometimes seek permission from their absent natural parents to care for their stepparents and, in turn, let stepparents know when they are intruding upon or endangering primary relationships with their natural parents.

Children must also adjust to the loss of the special closeness shared with the custodial parent. As a result of the displacement by the stepparent, the children may also have to give up the satisfaction of adult responsibilities assumed during the separation period (Maddox, 1975). The children's subsequent feelings of hurt and anger will be directed against both the displacing stepparent and the betraying natural parent. These feelings, as well as feelings of disloyalty to the absent natural parent, may interfere with their acceptance of the stepparent as a primary source of emotional gratification (Mowatt, 1972; Goldstein, 1974; Messinger et al., 1978; Visser & Visser, 1978; Ransom et al., 1979).

The third task of Stage 2 requires the final resolution of the loss of the previous marriage family. In addition to the intensified feelings of loss that many divorced persons feel at the time that each remarries (Ransom et al., 1979), the children often become the natural focus of the parent's continued feelings toward the ex-spouse (Goldstein, 1974). Correspondingly, the children are often a constant reminder to the stepparent of his or her spouse's previous intimate relationship (Fast & Cain, 1966). Visser and Visser (1978) and Wallerstein and Kelly (1977) found that the children's fantasies of their parents' reconciliation often continue even after one or both parents have remarried. These feelings must be resolved before the final relinquishment of the previous family is accomplished.

### Stage 3: Reconstitution of the Family

Ransom et al. found that the reconstitution of the family involves formidable integrative tasks. New patterns of relationships and roles must be established that will build toward solidarity. Implicit in this task is the rebuilding of generational boundaries weakened by the close relationship established between the parent and child during the separation period, and the pal relationship established between the stepparent and stepchild during the courtship period (Mowatt, 1972; Kelly & Wallerstein, 1979; Ransom et al., 1979).

Goldstein (1974) and Fast and Cain (1966) found that the most typical problem of the reconstituting family is the establishment of

the stepparent role. In addition to the absence of established norms, both interpersonal and intrapersonal conflicts mitigate against the development of the disciplinary and nurturant roles of the stepparent. Interpersonal conflicts include the natural parent's ambivalence concerning the amount of parental responsibility the stepparent is expected to assume and the amount of interference in the parent-child relationship the natural parent is willing to accept (Visser & Visser, 1978; Fast & Cain, 1966); discrepancies between each family group's established styles of discipline and nurturance (Bernard, 1971; Mowatt, 1972); the children's actual and felt discrimination on the basis of ancestry (Bernard, 1971; Visser & Visser, 1978; Bowerman & Irish, 1962); unrealistic expectations and hypersensitivity of the stepparent's spouse (Mowatt, 1972; Fast & Cain, 1966); the children's rejection of the stepparent's attempts to discipline and nurture (Goldstein, 1974; Visser & Visser, 1978); and disapproval and interference from the extended family (Walker et al., 1977; Duberman, 1975). Intrapersonal conflicts include guilt feelings about leaving the previous family and about perceiving the stepchildren as an encumbrance (Fast & Cain, 1966; Visser & Visser, 1978); the feeling of being cheated of nuclear family experiences (Messinger et al., 1978); unrealistic expectations of a parent-child relationship (Goldstein, 1974); feelings of jealousy, resentment, and alienation because of the predominant relationship between the spouse and stepchild (Bitterman, 1968; Visser & Visser, 1978); and the inability to be assertive for fear of being or seeming to be the traditionally evil stepparent (Fast & Cain, 1966). Crucial to the establishment of the stepparent role is the stepparent's capacity to assume the role, as well as the natural parent's willingness to accept the right of the stepparent to function in these realms and to resist the children's denial of these rights (Schlesinger, 1970; Goldstein, 1974; Fast & Cain, 1966; Ransom et al., 1979).

Stepsiblings must also adjust to their new relationships. Each child's feelings of territoriality and position in the age hierarchy will be disrupted, as well as the parent-child relationship. Bernard (1971) and Visser and Visser (1978) found that although sibling rivalry is a problem in many nuclear families, it can be infinitely compounded in reconstituted families. Siblings can provide mutual support during the difficult integrative process; however, they can also band together as an enemy force against stepsiblings, the stepparent, or the entire stepfamily group (Fast & Cain, 1966; Bernard, 1971).

The final task of the reconstituted family is to delineate a relationship with the absent natural parent. Messinger et al. (1978) found that reconstituted family partners felt the child had the right



to establish and maintain a relationship with the absent parent based on the child's own feelings. At the same time, they expressed concern about how to deal with interactions between the remarriage families without damaging the solidarity of their own family.

Such interaction undoubtedly has destructive effects on the reconstituted family when it is perceived by the new spouse as an intrusion or when ex-spouses have not resolved their hostile feelings toward one another (Mowatt, 1972; Fast & Cain, 1966; Walker et al., 1979; Messinger et al., 1978). However, even when friendly or sympathetic relationships exist between the members of the remarriages, the ties create special problems such as the management of holidays, the inability to predict and control family life, the sharing of parental rights and responsibilities, the inherent difficulties in continuing an enduring and meaningful relationship on a part-time basis, and the difficulties in reintegrating the family after visits (Visser & Visser, 1978; Bitterman, 1968; Messinger et al., 1978). Even though there are no established solutions to these problems, Messinger et al. (1978) found that the group discussions made clear that "each family had the right and the duty to arrive at its own best solution" (p. 269).

Ransom et al. (1979) noted that the tasks of the developmental stages were to some extent arbitrarily separated into specific time frames; and that, in reality, many are taking place simultaneously. Also noted was that some will remain forever short of resolution.

The developmental theory of Ransom et al. provides the therapist with a framework for both understanding and working with reconstituted family members. Although some of the special problems of the reconstituted family are beyond their control, others can be resolved before the marriage takes place and many can be diminished by an awareness of what is likely to take place during the reconstituted family's formation. Ransom et al. maintain that helping these individuals understand that many of their problems are developmental rather than pathological may increase their capacities to resolve these problems, cope with inevitable stresses, and establish a satisfactory family system.

### **Pseudomutuality and Child Scapegoating**

Schlesinger (1970), Duberman (1975), Goldstein (1974), and Cherlin (1978) found that divorced adults and their children often have a compelling need to make the second marriage successful. As a result, the reconstituted family frequently assumes pseudomutuality,

a term Goldstein applied to a pattern of interaction in which hostile feelings and their expression is denied for fear it will precipitate the dissolution of the new marriage. Consequently, conflicts cannot be resolved and the family is unable to achieve integration and solidarity.

In addition, Ransom et al. (1979) found that pseudomutual interaction is conducive to the development of the role of the problematic child. Because marital conflict is too great a threat, the parents will often project their marital problems to a child who exhibits dysfunctional behavior. Correspondingly, the child who fears the dissolution of the marriage or who is angry about the remarriage is frequently eager to join in the denial of marital conflict and accept responsibility for causing the family problems (Ransom et al., 1979; Goldstein, 1974).

The reconstituted family's tendencies toward pseudomutuality and child scapegoating have important implications for therapy. Although the remarriage couple's request for professional help may be initiated by the behavior problems of the child, it is essential that the therapist take an expanded interactional view of the problematic child in the reconstituted family (Ransom et al., 1979; Goldstein, 1974). In order to provide adequate help for the child and the family, therapy may require the inclusion of the parent, siblings, stepparent, half-siblings, stepsiblings, and perhaps the absent parent and his or her spouse (Bitterman, 1968; Walrond-Skinner, 1976). The therapist should be aware that such exploration into family conflict is likely to induce considerable anxiety in reconstituted family members (Bitterman, 1968). However, if the reconstituted family is to achieve integration and solidarity, its members must resolve the developmental task of coming to terms with fears of repeating failure and learn to resolve family conflicts.

### **Transition States**

Wiess (1976) defined a transition state as the period following a crisis resulting in relational and personal change of an individual. The transition state ends when the individual has established a new stable life structure and a new identity, although either may remain insufficient.

A member of a reconstituted family is likely to have progressed through a number of transition states which may have included first marriage to divorce or bereavement, to one-parent household, to dating, and to remarriage (Messinger et al., 1978; Kelly & Wallerstein,



1977; Schlesinger, 1970). M. Schwartz (1975) noted that if the individual does not resolve the transition successfully, continuing disorganization may ensue and the probability of emotional disturbance is increased. Thus, the way the reconstituted family members have managed each transition state will have had a significant effect on the course of their lives.

Personal and relational difficulties of individuals in the developmental stages of reconstituted families are confirmed by Wiess in his description of individuals in transition states. These individuals are inclined to dwell on the events which precipitated the new situation. They tend to blame others or themselves, thus, arousing feelings of anger, guilt, and unworthiness. Loss of identity accompanies the loss of commitments and goals, often leaving these individuals vulnerable and impulsive. New behaviors and means of coping are sometimes met with failure and result in mood-swings, loss of confidence, and self-doubt. They may develop feelings of social isolation because they find their friends, kin, and other members of the community do not share their new status.

As a result of the disruption of their life structure, these individuals must face the negotiation of fundamental revisions in their primary and extended relationships and are likely to face new situations for which they are unprepared. At the same time, the personal and relational difficulties created by the disruption mitigate against the successful resolution of these tasks. Wallerstein and Kelly (1977) found that

Many decisions made during the divorce in regard to the subsequent structuring of relationships, including custody and visitation, have long-term consequences for the future of the child and the parent-child relationship. Yet, often the impetus and direction for these changes derive entirely from the stressladen interaction of the family disruption. (p. 6)

On the positive side, Wiess (1976) and Kelly and Wallerstein (1977) found that individuals in transition states seem exceptionally open to help, and M. Schwartz (1975) noted that the transition state presents these individuals with new possibilities for growth and maturation. These authors maintain that a support system is an effective and valuable means of helping individuals in transition states.

Wiess developed a seminar format designed to help individuals in transition states to strengthen their capacities to establish new social and emotional stability and a new identity. The core of the program is a lecture series within which cognitive materials are provided.

Support is provided by both staff and participants in small discussion groups which meet after the lecture. A sense of membership in a social group is enhanced by providing participants the opportunity to meet for coffee before and after the formal programs.

Wiess suggested that an effective transition program should provide three types of helpers: (1) the expert, an authority on the problems and the nature of the event that precipitated the transition and who can describe what is known; (2) the veteran, an individual who has been through the transition and can discuss his or her experiences and demonstrate the possibility of recovery; and (3) the fellow participant, an individual who shares the transition and can provide "the immediate understanding what comes only from being in the same boat" (1976, p. 226).

M. Schwartz (1975) conceptualized a group approach, Situation/Transition (S/T) groups, to helping individuals in transition states. In contrast to the expert, directive role of the leader in the seminar approach, the leader's role in S/T groups is informal and nondirective, with emphasis on the functions of expediting, clarifying, supporting, and evaluating. Both techniques, however, provide the support system essential to helping individuals in transition states.

Schwartz identified the five essential characteristics of S/T groups as follows: (1) having a primary orientation of dealing with a shared external event; (2) consisting of five to twelve members and meeting weekly for four to fifteen weeks; (3) being moderated by a professional; (4) having no requirements for members to adopt a particular moral or behavioral value system; and (5) offering social support, factual information about the shared life stress, and an opportunity for emotional interaction with others around the group focus.

### Role Making

Aldous (1974) examined the concept of role making as a means for analyzing and facilitating family change. He noted that this concept is particularly valuable in situations such as dual career families, one-parent families, and reconstituted families where role definitions are lacking or no longer accepted by the individuals.

Aldous described the process of role making as follows:

The requirements of the situation and the individuals in it determine specific behaviors. Instead of playing a part prescribed by the norms, each individual in the situation



assesses the other's role on the basis of the behaviors the other displays. The first individual then reacts according to the behaviors he predicts as a consequence of taking the role of the other. The correctness of the judgment on which each actor stakes his behavior is confirmed or denied by the other person's response. Thus the individual... "makes" his role in tentative fashion in response to the cues given him by those in the situation... Interaction sequences are, accordingly, improvised on the spot by the actors. These individual behaviors become expected and so structured if they prove comfortable and are repeated often enough to become role expectations. (1974, p. 232; 233)

Essential to the process of role making are personality qualities of high self-esteem, flexibility, interpersonal sensitivity, and autonomy, as well as the absence of specific behavioral expectations at the group level. Because self-doubt, lack of self-confidence, and vulnerability often characterize individuals in transition states, reconstituted family members are likely to be severely hampered in their attempts to clarify and establish new roles.

Mowatt (1972) found that even five years after remarriage some stepfathers were still uncertain about their parenting roles. Fast and Cain (1966) maintain that uncertainties about appropriate role behavior is often manifested in a denial of any problems, the stepparents' development of acute hypersensitivity to every event as proof that they are or are not seen as parents, and in child scapegoating. In such instances, the guidance and support of a professional and others who are important to them are essential to successful role making (Aldous, 1974; Fast & Cain, 1966).

Messinger et al. (1978) found that because many women redefine their identities between marriages, the negotiation of marital roles is also a common problem in reconstituted families. In these instances, the therapist can guide the family into thinking in terms of roles based on competency, interest, and available time instead of traditional gender norms, and encourage role making that will establish greater marital stability (Aldous, 1974).

In remarriage preparation groups, therapy groups for reconstituted family members, and reconstituted family therapy, therapists "can alert individuals to potential problems, suggest remedial behavioral changes and provide support for role making attempts" (Aldous, 1974, p. 233).

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## DOES CONGRESS EFFECTIVELY REGULATE THE ETHICS OF ITS MEMBERS?

by Brad Miller

It would appear, upon initial examination of the title of this work, that the topic to be discussed is quite clear and straightforward: ethical conduct and its regulation. But after some reflecting and the insight gained from viewing the subject in its historical context, it becomes obvious that the concept of ethical behavior is more wide-ranging and more subtle than merely the specific rules of conduct recognized by a particular group, although it is this, too. To the point: what is ethics? How do we know what behavior is ethical and what unethical? These are all questions which have traditionally surrounded the study of ethics. Philosophers, political thinkers, and theologians have each put forward answers to these questions, and indeed we are still grappling with the same problem today. In view of this it would perhaps be wise to examine some ideas on ethics and their relation to political activity before discussing the ethical behavior of our congressmen.

Ethics deals with values and actions. Language such as 'this act is good (or bad)' or 'that act is right (or wrong)' is the language of ethics. While most people agree that values can be assigned to actions, many people disagree about the basis for assigning the values. Some hold that the basis for good and bad acting is the existence of a God who defines absolute values. Others argue that a value system is chosen by each individual by and for himself. In general, ethical theories shape the ethical beliefs of the common man but at the same time tend to become absorbed by the masses and lose their original clarity. The ethical system of our age in 20th century America is the result of competing ideas from the past. Christian ethics, the implied contractual ethics of men like John Locke, and the influences of idealists such as Kant and Hegel have all contributed to our views of right and wrong conduct today.

Historically, ethical concepts, regardless of their roots and makeup, have interacted with political activity. The idea of Congress regulating its ethical behavior is merely a current expression of that interaction. In an earlier time and different place Machiavelli, perhaps the first modern political scientist, recognized the existence of a system of ethical principles which men believed should be



observed. Yet he believed that the ruler should always be ready to disregard any ethical system in order to maintain his power. One might argue that this idea has stayed with political leaders down to today. But there have been other influences on us, too. For instance, the theories of John Locke, which were of tremendous influence on the founding fathers, stipulate a contract between ruler and ruled. This seems to implicitly contain the idea that both ruler and ruled share a common ethical standard, applicable to both.

So it seems that historically, ethics have not been simple, unchanging principles. They change to accommodate the times. Nevertheless, we can say that at any particular time a set of more or less generally accepted ethical principles exists within groups and cultures. We can say then that our culture today has some general ethical outlook concerning the political activity of Congress. Our ethical values seem to come to the surface in two forms. One form involves subtle principles that are not easily dealt with: the ethics of wars, the ethics of our foreign policies, the ethics of abortion. These are all large, complex ethical questions. The other form involves activity that seems, on the surface at least, clearly defined: the ethics of a bribe, the ethics of theft of funds, etc. These areas belong to a type of common ethics. It would seem fairly easy to distinguish between ethical and unethical behavior if a congressman today were to accept a bribe or a kickback from an industry or group for a stance or voting a certain way on a bill.

This general attitude may be prevalent today, but even as recently as a few years ago it was not the case: The great congressional orator and senator from Massachusetts, Daniel Webster, Secretary of State under Presidents Harrison and Tyler, was not an advocate of this ideal.

Webster was the defender, on the floor of the Senate, of the Second Bank of the United States, which was seeking a renewal of its charter and which was being opposed by President Andrew Jackson. As the bank struggle reached its climax in 1833, Webster kept somewhat aloof from it but on December 21st of that year wrote Nicholas Biddle, the President of the Bank, as follows: 'Sir - Since I have arrived here I have had an application to be concerned professionally against the Bank which I have declined of course, although I believe my retainer has not been renewed, or refreshed as usual. If it be wished that my relation to the Bank should be continued it may be well to send me the usual retainers.'<sup>1</sup>

This letter, which has seldom been surpassed for its essential blackmail, brought the desired results. The retainer was 'refreshed' and Webster girded on the sword of his oratory to do battle for his employer. That others were in similar position is seen from a memorandum in the Biddle papers in which Nicholas Biddle in 1837 listed the loans which had been made by the Bank 'to members of Congress, editors of newspapers and officers of the general government.' Along with Webster there were no less than fifty-four such other men on the list, including both Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, as well as numerous former cabinet members, three vice-presidents of the United States, and several of the leading editors of the country.<sup>2</sup>

These facts are not mentioned to besmirch the good names of Daniel Webster and the other congressmen of this time, but it would seem that this was acceptable practice during this time. There has been great progress made since then. Hopefully, today there could not occur such wholesale corruption of Congress as took place in connection with Mr. Biddle's machinations.

Robert G. (Bobby) Baker, secretary of the Democrats in the Senate during the early '60's, was convicted in 1967 of tax evasion, conspiracy, and theft. He allegedly became a millionaire while serving in his \$19,000-a-year job. He was also involved in a scandal that racked the Nixon administration in the early 70's. These occurrences prove that even today some government officials become tainted.

Even with the occurrence of recent isolated scandals, the Congress seems to concur with certain common ethical ideals or standards that are now prevalent, such as proscriptions against:

"1) Engaging in any personal business transaction or private arrangement for personal profit which was based upon the official position or confidential information of the official.

2) Accepting valuable gifts, favors or services from persons or organizations which the official transacted business or legislated on.

3) Discussing future employment outside the government with a person or organization with which there was pending official business.

4) Divulging valuable commercial or economic information of a confidential character to unauthorized persons or releasing such information in advance of its authorized release date.

5) Becoming unduly involved with persons outside the government with whom the officials did business."<sup>3</sup>

But even today some members of Congress would question some of these standards or "common" ethics, or at least how broadly they



should be applied.

Should we include also, the personal and social lives of the legislators in an ethical code? Are the private actions of a congressman subject to review simply because he is an elected official? Should ethical standards be personal or civil standards, or should they warrant criminal liabilities?

Because of the inability of Congress to decide on a Code of Ethics, many members are genuinely perplexed as to how to handle many of the problems that naturally come up. Accepting a mink coat or a car would probably constitute an expensive gift or favor that would not be acceptable, but what about a bottle of bourbon at Christmas? Would a potted plant or tickets to a show constitute a bribe?

Congress has periodically tackled the problem of ethics throughout its history. This has taken place usually after some action by one of its esteemed members has caused some sort of ridicule or widespread public outcry for change or action to correct the indiscretions of the legislator. Although some important progress has been made, Congress still does not have a basic system or code of ethical behavior for its members. Although many "common" ethics may be agreed upon by a vast majority of congressmen, and certain common standards, similar to those already stated, may be acceptable to them, no substantial piece of legislation has ever been passed.

There has been a push recently for more congressional regulation, in part, in response to the tremendous growth in recent years in the amount of lobbying and the number of lobbying groups active in Washington. Even groups with a long history of lobbying activity like the Chamber of Commerce, the American Medical Association, and the NAACP have expanded and modernized their lobbying efforts.

Lobbying laws are not the only answer to the ethical problems of congressmen, but lobbies are a good deal of the problem. The fact that lobbying groups have a lot of money to spread around, which many of them do very freely, is an area of great concern. Money can be funneled to legislators in many ways, by means of honorariums, testimonial dinner receipts, office expense funds, as well as any number of covert ways. Contributors understandably direct their resources to those congressmen with status and power. These congressmen are also in a position to prevent reform and halt legislation for increased regulation. So it becomes a vicious circle of funds and favors.

Most congressmen believe that they have a right to ascertain their own moral obligations. To "live and let live."<sup>4</sup> They believe that just as they have the right to financial investments, they also have the

right to keep those investments private. Some feel that disclosure of these finances is discriminating. Financial holdings of congressmen have little or no effect on the general behavior, they feel, but recognize the power of public discontent, and many see increased disclosure requirements as inevitable. Many congressmen feel that outside investments are even necessary to supplement their outside congressional income.

Larger salaries and office allowances as well as federal election subsidies, restrictions on lobbying expenditures by private interests, and an independent federal elections agency might clear up some of the indiscretions and cause fewer problems in Congress, but resistance to such change has been evidenced in both the House and the Senate in 1974, '75, '76, and '78. In the latest session of Congress, the House Ethics Committee could not even achieve enough cohesion to put one bill through committee and so did not take any official actions at all in the 95th Congress.

Many congressmen feel that responsibility for disciplining colleagues guilty of improper conduct or behavior lies in three areas:

- 1) Each congressman personally
- 2) The House as an institution
- 3) The congressman's constituents

Although there are weaknesses in all three of these systems, they tend to be a logically thought-out extension of the roles of the legislators. But even here there seem to be some fatal errors in the congressmen's system. If an committee chairman is guilty of an infraction, it would be tantamount to political suicide if a junior member of his committee were to accost him with charges of ethical improprieties. The House and Senate have historically been slow to act on any indiscretions of their members, and the same can be said of most of the congressmen's constituents.

If Congress should enact a set of ethical codes, how much regulation is constitutional? Should ethics regulation be extended to the Executive or Judicial branches? Is public disclosure of lobbying activities constitutional?

With regard to the complex ethical questions of our day, it can be argued that a congressman voting for or against funds for the Vietnam war was performing an ethical, in addition to a political, action. With the scope of ethics being what it is, when we speak of congressional regulation of ethical behavior, we can mean this form of ethics. But this form of ethics has never tried to be controlled by Congress, and should not be. Regulation of this type of ethical behavior would simply codify some particular ethical system. Ethical systems must be free to change with the times. There is no place in



our government for this type of moralizing.

As for certain common ethical standards, I believe that it would not serve much purpose to try to regulate these either. The Congress of the United States has always had the inherent problem of trying to regulate itself. Most people would recognize the futility of a teacher leaving a class by itself to take a test or complete a course, but in effect that is what we would be asking for our congressmen: to conduct the business of the nation and regulate their own conduct while doing so. Congress, if it must monitor the behavior of its own members, will always conform to the most liberal version of any standards that it might set up. What is proper for some congressmen might not be for others. Increased political pressure on Congress might cause legislators to adopt ethical codes, but as soon as outside pressure is decrease, the Congress would almost assuredly resume its activities at will. It will probably be many years, if at all, before the Congress of the United States brings itself into line with some common ethical codes or values with which the American public can agree.

#### NOTES

1. Paul Howard Douglas, *Ethics in Government* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 15.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
4. Edmund Beard, *Congressional Ethics: The View From the House* (New York: AMS Press, 1975), p. 81.

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### Electron Microscopy of *Polytrichum* Moss Spores by Dennis Grizzle

#### INTRODUCTION

Moss spores of the genus *Polytrichum* were examined with the electron microscope and specific sporoderm sculpturing was observed in the perine layer in particular. A total of four layers were observed in the spore wall. Other than the perine already mentioned, a distinct exine and intine are separated by an electron dense layer of spore wall. Other researchers have suggested that sporoderm characteristics could serve as important aids in Musci taxonomy. Internal spore ultrastructure was observed, and one type of protein storage body as well as plasma membranes and vesicles were found. There are also some osmophilic globules with a high lipid content present in the spores.

#### MATERIALS AND METHODS

Dried spores of *Polytrichum sp.* were obtained from the electron microscopy lab director, J.R. McCurry. Similar spores are available from the Carolina Biological Supply Company if replication of this experiment is desired. These were studied according to a procedure adapted from and developed by Steinkamp and Doyle (1979) for observing liverwort spore wall structure.

**Spore Preparation:** The dried spores were first imbibed in a vacuum for 5-10 min. in 2 ml of water containing some dish detergent added as a wetting agent. This was then centrifuged for 20 minutes at 10,000 rpm to form a pellet of spores in the bottom of a centrifuge tube. The supernatant was then drawn off with a pipette. Agar was melted and cooled to 50°C. A few drops were applied with a warmed pipette onto the spore pellet. The centrifuge tube was then placed in an ice bath to cool the agar, partially encasing the spores; then the pellet was removed from the tube and completely encased by adding a few more drops of agar to the spores. The agar-encased pellet was sliced into 1-1.5 mm sections to be double fixed with glutaraldehyde and osmium tetroxide.

**Fixation:** The agar-encased spores were fixed for 24 hr. in 3% glutaraldehyde solution buffered to pH 7.4 with 0.2 M sodium



cacodylate (Steinkamp and Doyle, 1979). After a thorough washing in pH 7.4 cacodylate buffer, the spores were fixed for 1.5 hr. in 1% OsO<sub>4</sub> buffered with sodium veronal acetate. All fixation took place at room temperature.

**Dehydration:** After the osmium fixation, the spores were dehydrated in an acetone series of 10% increments of concentration from 20-100% for 15 min. in each concentration, and twice in 100% acetone.

**Embedding:** The segments of the spore pellet were then kept in an acetone-Epon 812 mixture of 3:1 concentration, respectively, for 24 hr. as the initial infiltration step. Then the segments of the spore pellet were kept in a 1:1 acetone-Epon 812 mixture for 24 hours. Next they were placed in a 1:3 acetone-Epon 913 mixture, respectively, for another 24 hours. Then the spore pellet segments were placed into a fresh 1:3 acetone-Epon 812 mixture for 67 hours. During the last 10 hr. of this third infiltration step, the vials were left open so that the acetone could evaporate. Spores were then removed from this mixture and placed into 100% Epon 812 minus DMP-30 hardener and allowed to remain in Epon 812 for 2 days and then removed and placed into fresh Epon 812 containing DMP-30 and polymerized for 3 days in a 70°C oven.

## RESULTS

The most obvious structure of the *Polytrichum* sp. spore wall is the perine, the outermost highly ornamental layer, easily identified by the "Christmas tree-like" appearance. Three layers of spore wall, including the perine, can be recognized in Fig. 1. The middle layer, entine, appears as a dark band immediately adjacent to the perine. The inner layer, intine, is viewed as a light, structureless circle. A large osmiophilic globule fills most of the interior of the spore. Smaller fibrillar protein storage bodies can also be seen throughout the remaining cytoplasm.

Occasionally an electron-dense separating layer can be observed between the entine and intine. The intine appears to have a fibrillar structure (Fig. 3) similar to that observed in many plant cell walls. The plasma membrane marks the inner surface of the intine. Numerous vesicles can be noted lining the inner surface of the plasma membrane. Note also the numerous osmiophilic granules and storage bodies.

When the spore wall is sectioned tangentially the only structures observed are the tips of the perine "Christmas trees" (Fig. 4). These tips give the appearance of oil droplets on the grid surface.

## DISCUSSION

Because of the relatively low permeability of the spore wall, preserving spore ultrastructure presents some problems. Long fixation and infiltration times are necessary when using glutaraldehyde and osmium tetroxide as the fixatives and Epon 813 as the embedding medium. The technique reported by Mueller (1974) was not adequate, and most of the spores "fell out" of the sections. This was probably due to poor infiltration of the spores because of their low permeability. Perhaps the primary fixation time can be reduced, and the full 24 hrs. is not needed to achieve maximum fixation. Staining may also prove valuable, but techniques need to be tested to determine their effectiveness.

Internal structure of ungerminated spores is difficult to preserve because of the anhydrous condition of the spores. One interesting observation was the appearance of vesicles lining portions of the plasma membrane. These vesicles have also been noted in liverworts (Steinkamp and Doyle, 1979). It would be premature at the present time to speculate about their origin and function.

The spore walls of the Musci seem to be taxonomically important. Similarities in spore wall structure among members within the same taxa seem to exist in many instances (McClymont and Carson, 1964). Even though the number of layers of the spore wall in mosses seem to be more or less constant, there may still be variation in the thickness of the specific layers. It is unknown at the present time whether the electron-dense layer shown in Fig. 2 is part of the entine or intine or neither. It is believed from this study that there is a closer association between the entine and the dense layer relative to the intine. The sculpturing effect due to perine formation determines the external appearance. Observations in this and other research indicate that spore wall ultrastructure may be a useful criterion in moss taxonomy.



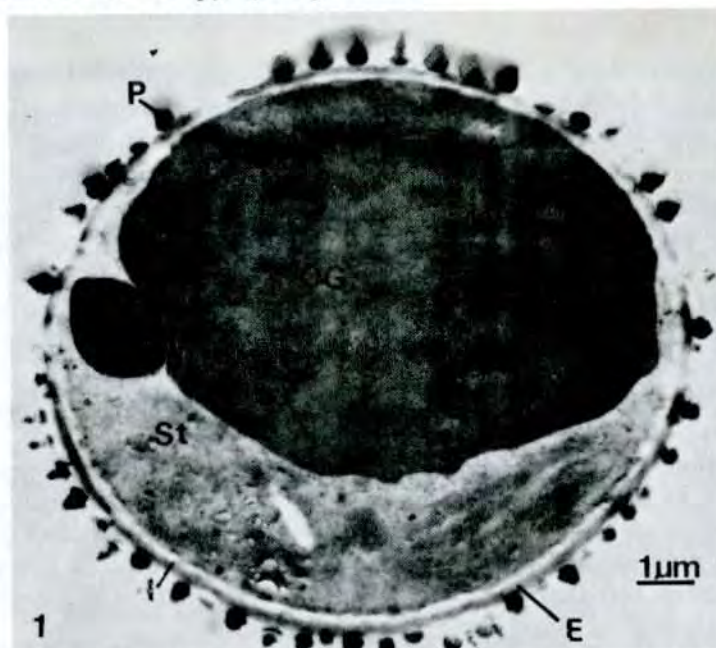


Figure 1. Outer sporoderm ornamentation, Perine (P); major outer spore wall, Entine (E); Inner spore wall, Intine (I). Vibrillar protein storage bodies (ST) are present as well as a large osmiophilic globules (OG) of high lipid content.

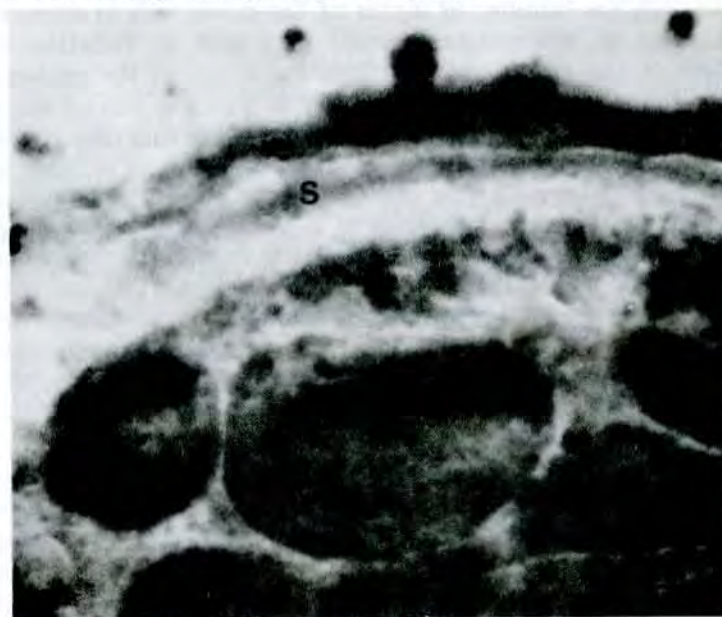


Figure 2. Shows an electron-dense separating layer (S) between the entine and intine.

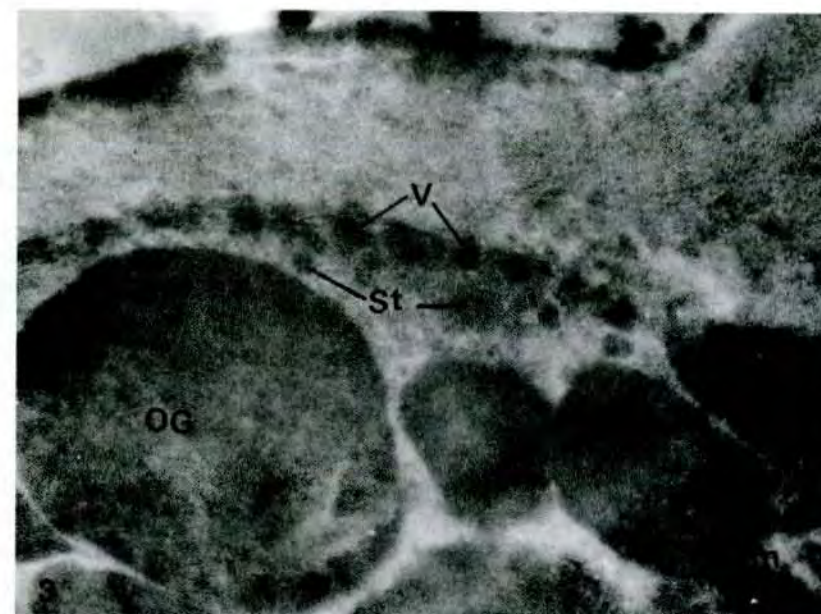


Figure 3. This micrograph shows vesicles (V) in conjunction with the plasma membrane. Storage bodies (ST) are also shown.

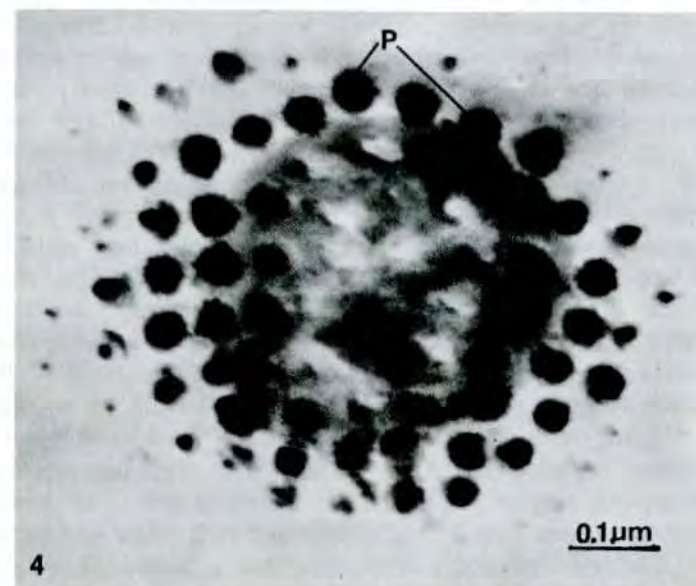


Figure 4. This is a tangential section of the outer spore wall showing the ornamentation of the Perine (P).



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TRANSFORMATIONAL EFFECTS ON CYTOSKELETON  
AND CELL-SURFACE ANTIGENS

by Lynell C. Collins

Cancer research has been the major area of study during the nineteen seventies. Many different areas of biology united their efforts to understand how and why cells become transformed. The lack of contact inhibition between cells is one of the principal differences between normal and malignant cells. This property stimulated voluminous research into the characteristics of both normal and transformed membranes.

In 1972, M. Raff and S. de Petris, using the fluorescent anti-body technique to study cell surface antigens, realized that the capping of these antigens which they had assumed to be typical was actually inducible. This implied that under normal conditions the antigens were distributed around the cell surface evenly (Raff, 1976). In the same year, J.S. Singer and G.L. Nicolson proposed their Fluid Mosaic Model of Membranes, replacing the Green-Capaldi model. Singer and Nicolson's proposal suggests that the hydrophobic-hydrophilic interactions of the lipids and proteins composing the membrane help maintain the membrane's structure and integrity. While the Green-Capaldi model placed certain restrictions on the lateral movement of the proteins in the membrane, the fluid mosaic model does not (Avers, 1976). The discovery by Raff and de Petris that capping was a dynamic event initiated by an antigen-antibody interaction was dramatic proof of the latter model.

With this new prospect in membrane study, and as more and more evidence implied a strong relationship between cell-surface modulation and transformation of normal cells into cancer cells, research in this area became more active. Interactions between cell-surfaces and intra-cellular components became apparent as research progressed (Albertini et al, 1975; Asch et al., 1978); Ash et al., 1977; Bourguignon & Singer, 1977; Edelman, 1976; Miller, 1977; Pouyssegur et al., 1977; Raff, 1976), uniting two fields of study previously considered unrelated. These fields were the areas of cell membranes and their constituents and intracellular proteins and their functions. It is not practical in this paper to give a comprehensive review of the work that has been done in this area, even for the last two years. However, a summary of the principal works of the field



and as they relate to cancer research will be attempted.

The two most used research techniques are the fluorescent antibody technique and electron microscopy. Because of their importance to this type of study, a brief description of the utilization of the techniques will aid in interpreting and understanding the results presented.

Immunofluorescence is a most useful form of light microscopy, with one of its chief advantages being specificity of staining. There are actually two types of immunofluorescence: the direct fluorescent antibody technique and the indirect fluorescent antibody technique.

In the direct technique, antibodies are produced against a particular antigen that the researcher wishes to study and are purified by one of several purification techniques. A chemist then conjugates a fluorescent dye, such as fluorescein, rhodamine, or isothiocyanate, to the purified antibody. The antibody-dye complex is then allowed to react with the unreacted antibody, the system is washed several times to remove any unreacted antibody, and the system is observed on an ultraviolet microscope. Wherever the antibody-dye has reacted with the antigen, the entire antigen-antibody-dye complex glows because the ultraviolet light excites the fluorescent dye. The dye then emits colored light (fluoresces) that can be seen. Because of the increasingly sensitive purification techniques being developed for the isolating the antibody, the fluorescent antibody technique is becoming more and more specific in what it stains.

The primary disadvantage of this system is that one must prepare a new antibody-dye complex for each antigen one wishes to study. This problem is alleviated by the indirect fluorescent antibody technique. The principal underlying the indirect fluorescent antibody technique is that antibodies are themselves good antigens. The practical application of this theory lies in the fact that if research is being done in one experimental animal, antibodies to that animal's immunoglobulin can be made in another animal. For example, monkey gamma globulin can be injected into a rabbit and the rabbit will produce anti-monkey gamma globulin. These anti-monkey antibodies are labeled with the fluorescent dye. Later, if one wishes to study an antigen, such as tubulin, the protein is injected into a monkey or into monkey cells. The monkey or monkey cells produce antibodies against the tubulin. Then, the anti-monkey gamma globulin produced in a rabbit and labeled with the fluorescent dye will react with the monkey anti-tubulin antibodies. This entire complex of tubulin antigen-monkey anti-tubulin antibody-rabbit anti-monkey antibody will then glow when observed under an ultraviolet microscope. In this way any antigen can be studied in the

monkey with only one antibody having to have the fluorescent dye coupled to it. This is both easier and more economical for studying many different antigens than the direct method.

Electron microscopy is the other research tool that is used frequently. As in the fluorescent antibody technique, there are two forms which are used most: high-voltage transmission electron microscopy and immunoelectron microscopy. Immunoelectron microscopy is very similar to the fluorescent antibody technique of light microscopy. For this, the antibody to the antigen being studied is prepared and purified as in the light microscopic technique. However, instead of having a fluorescent dye couple to the antibody, an electron microscope stain, such as ferritin, is conjugated to it. The higher magnification and resolution achieved with the electron microscope allows for detailed ultrastructural analysis of the antigen not possible with the light microscope.

The primary disadvantage of any transmission electron microscope work is that thin sections must be used in order for the electron beam to pass through. However, this disadvantage has been reduced by a new form of transmission electron microscopy called high voltage electron microscopy. Much thicker sections, or even whole cells, can be viewed with this new technique. Because of the difficulty in telling one cellular component from another with the high-voltage process, most of it is done by taking two pictures of the same section from slightly different angles. Then, when these two views are observed at the same time with special glasses, the two images fuse, giving a sense of depth. This three-dimensional study is called stereo micrography and allows researchers to determine where fibers insert or attach.

J.A. Miller presents an excellent review of these techniques and what can be learned from them in her paper entitled "The Bone and Muscle of Cells" (Miller, 1977). Using the fluorescent antibody technique, three types of fibrous systems were detected in cells by pioneers in this area of research, May Osborn, Klaus Weber, and Elias Lazarides (Osborn et al., 1978; Pollack et al., 1975; Weber et al., 1975). Although all three types of fibers had been visualized with transmission electron microscopy, the fluorescent antibody technique permitted observation of the relationship between these systems of fibers and the whole cell, and not just small sections through the cell.

Keith Porter, in studying whole cells using high-voltage electron microscopy, has referred to these fibrous networks as the "microtrabecular system," because it reminds him of the trabecular system of spongy bone. This term has not gained much



acceptance by cell biologists; instead, the term "cytoskeleton" seems to be preferred (Miller, 1977).

The cytoskeleton provides structure and support for the cell and supplies the organelles within the cell with sites of attachment for performing their functions. Porter states that "Components cannot perform their functions if they are swimming in cytosol. They need a matrix for structural support" (Miller, 1977).

The three types of fibers are microtubules, intermediate fibers, and microfilaments. The microtubules, composed of the protein tubulin, form an elaborate web-like network radiating from a point near the center of the cell, outward. B.R. Brinkley has referred to this point where the microtubules converge as the "centrosphere" (Brinkley et al., 1975), although this term is not commonly used. Microtubules have been implied in functions of maintenance of cell shape, movement, and intracellular transport of materials.

The microfilaments are composed primarily of actin, one of the movement proteins. They are associated with cellular motility and probably also play a role in the maintenance of cell shape. The intermediate fibers' composition and function are unknown.

While Raff and de Petris had discovered cell-capping in response to antigen-antibody interactions, other compounds were found to induce the phenomenon. Lectins (Sharon, 1977), proteins found principally in plants, react with the carbohydrate moieties on cell surfaces to cause capping and agglutination of cells. The lectin most widely used in these studies is concanavalin A, isolated from the jack bean. As a rule, concanavalin A (Con A) will agglutinate tumor cells but not normal cells.

The ability of lectins to cap and agglutinate cells is the result of their having two or more binding sites for sugars on them. They can bind to two or more carbohydrate molecules at once; however, for capping or agglutination to occur, bridges must form between the lectins and other receptors on the cell surface. This appears to be the difference between normal and transformed cells. In experiments with lectin molecules labeled with fluorescent dyes for light microscopy and ferritin for electron microscopy, it has been shown that on normal cells the molecules are distributed randomly over the membrane, while on malignant cells they aggregate together in clusters (Sharon, 1977). According to Nathan Sharon, "It has been postulated that increased fluidity of malignant-cell membranes could account, at least in part, for some other characteristics of these cells, such as their decreased 'stickiness', their ability to migrate through the body from their tissue of origin and probably their loss of 'contact inhibition' of growth" (Sharon, 1977).

Generally, Con A agglutinates only malignant cells; however, Max Burger of Princeton noted that among normal cells there is a small population that is agglutinated by Con A. His studies showed these cells to be in the process of mitosis, indicating that during mitosis the surface of the normal cell is similar to that of a transformed cell. To Burger, this suggested the existence in the cell cycle of a critical switching point (Sharon, 1977).

Lectins are also mitogens; that is, they stimulate the cell to undergo mitosis. It was experiments on this aspect of lectin activity that led to the postulation of a transmembrane stimulation mediated by the clustering of receptors on the membrane surface. G.L. Nicolson and T.H. Ji performed experiments which showed that proteins found only on the inner surface of the membrane also clustered when Con A reacted with the cell-surface (Sharon, 1977).

Two studies presented in 1977 at the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences dealt with how capping might occur. L. Gourgignon and J. S. Singer studied HeLa cells, using double fluorescence staining to observe both the surface-bound ligand and the intracellular actin or myosin. They found the intracellular membrane-associated actin or myosin was also aggregated into patches. This and other evidence led them to propose a general molecular mechanism for the process of capping, in which actin and myosin are directly involved. Their mechanism consists of the following elements:

1. Actin is a peripheral protein that is attached to the membrane by direct or indirect linkage to a specific integral protein (or proteins) X.
2. The crosslinking of a membrane receptor by an external ligand leads to the spontaneous formation of a receptor patch, in the course of which, linkage of the receptor X occurs.
3. Patches of any given receptor, linked to actin and myosin through X, are collected into a cap by a sliding filament mechanism and associated processes (Bourguignon & Singer, 1977).

Endocytosis of the receptors is often associated with their capping. According to Bourguignon and Singer, their mechanism can account for this occurrence by supplying the contractile machinery necessary for this phenomenon (Bourguignon & Singer, 1977). Ash et al. agree that transmembrane linkage of actins and myosins to surface receptors as postulated by Bourguignon and Singer may account for the endocytosis associated with capping and further state that may "... be an essential step in the mechanism of action of these ligands" (Ash et al., 1977).



Until recently it had been impossible to correlate observations by the fluorescent antibody technique with electron microscopy in the same cell, due to poor preservation. However, B. Eckert and J. Snyder developed a technique allowing immunofluorescence and high-voltage electron microscope studies to be conducted on the same cell. The significant factor in their work was the production of an antibody that will react only with glutaraldehyde-treated tubulin. This antibody did not form a line of precipitation when tested against both native tubulin and glutaraldehyde-treated actomyosin, demonstrating its specificity (Eckert & Snyder, 1978).

Osborn et al., using this technique, conducted a careful comparison of the individual microtubules observed by both immunofluorescence and electron microscopy. They concluded that under optimal conditions immuno-fluorescent microscopy can visualize individual microtubules (Osborne et al., 1978).

B.R. Brinkley, G.M. Fuller, and D. P. Highland, in 1975, published the results of their studies comparing cytoplasmic microtubules in normal and tumor cells, using the fluorescent antibody technique. This showed a decreased number of microtubules in the transformed cells (Brinkley et al., 1975). Follow-up studies by B.B. Asch, M.Brower, and B.R. Brinkley demonstrated that 60-70% of the cells in primary cultures of hyperplastic alveolar and adenocarcinomas had reduced numbers of microtubules present (Asch et al., 1978).

These studies were undertaken because tumor cells display a rounded shape and decreased adhesion to the substratum which, it was postulated, could be caused by an alteration of the cytoskeletal elements. This was supported by immunofluorescence (Brinkley et al., 1975; Pollack et al., 1975) in which microtubules and microfilaments appeared altered in patterns, size, or position.

R. Rubin and R. Warren measured the amount of tubulin present in normal rat kidney cells and their transformed counterparts, 442 cells, using a colchicine binding assay. They found equivalent amounts in both types of cells. However, when they first stabilized the microtubules with a buffer, they found twice as much pelletable tubulin in the 442 cells. Subsequent electron microscope studies by them also indicated fewer microtubules in the malignant cells. They postulated the tubulin was present in some form other than microtubules (Rubin & Warren, 1978).

J. Poussegur et al. demonstrated that many of the characteristics observed in tumor cells such as low adhesion to substratum, round shape, increase in surface microvilli, increase in agglutinability by Con A, and loss of directional motility are also observed in AD6 cells, a mutant of 3T3 cells. These cells do not produce tumors and

require attachment to a substratum before they will grow. Responsibility for their altered appearance and growth patterns lies in the synthesis of their carbohydrates and glycoproteins, where they are unable to acetylate GlcN-6-P. They pointed out that since the carbohydrate portion of the cell membrane plays an important role in cell behavior that "The fact that a defined alteration of the cell-surface induces many properties often encountered in transformed cells, without affecting control of cell division, strongly suggests that these alterations in properties are not sufficient to account for the loss of growth regulation (Poussegur et al., 1977).

Some researchers disputed the results of authors claiming to have found differences in the cytoskeletal elements between normal and cancer cells. DeMey et al., using a new technique called "immunoperoxidase" and a new fixation technique for microtubules, reached a different conclusion. They could find no significant differences in the cytoskeletons between normal and transformed cells. They further contested the concept of normal cells containing oriented patterns of microtubules and the transformed cells containing random microtubule organization. From their data they propose two extreme cytoplasmic microtubule complex patterns found in different cell lines. Type I is a pattern of thin threads other investigators had found in nontransformed cells. Type II microtubules are three-dimensionally oriented and are densely packed. They speculate that it is the cell morphology which, in part, determines the pattern of the cytoplasmic microtubule complex rather than the other way around (DeMey et al., 1978).

B. Asch, D. Medina, and B.R. Brinkley, using this new method of immunoperoxidase on the same cell lines studied in their early work (Asch et al., 1979), agreed with DeMey (DeMey et al., 1978). They too could find no significant difference in the cytoplasmic microtubule complex between normal and tumor cells. Although they retracted their earlier hypothesis on the role of the cytoplasmic microtubule complex in transformation of cells, they still postulated that there may be some subtle change which is not detected by the fluorescent antibody technique or electron microscopy methods (Asch et al., 1979).

Transformation of cells involves the modification of the cell surface in some as yet unknown way (Edelman, 1976; Raff, 1976). The cytoskeleton may play a role in this alteration, although not in the dramatic fashion earlier proposed (Asch et al., 1978; Asch et al., 1979; Brinkley et al., 1975). It is an exciting field with much ongoing research, which will eventually lead to an understanding and hopefully a cure for cancer.



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# A SUMMARY OF FLAWS IN THOMAS HARDY'S FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD

by Joy Hamilton

Considered one of Thomas Hardy's major novels, *Far From the Madding Crowd* was the first Wessex tale and the tale that brought him recognition; however, *Far From the Madding Crowd* is not an example of literary perfection. In fact, it does not even approach perfection. Henry James dismissed *Far From the Madding Crowd* as "diffuse. . . verbose and redundant in style."<sup>1</sup> The novel is a very long book with a very short, simple subject. The work is made much longer by the infusion of a great amount of descriptive language, one might call it padding, and the use of a quite repetitious style. Hardy's novel seems to be a simple tale stretched to make a conventionally sized novel. Hardy begins with a detailed description of his hero's smile and proceeds to give a voluminous account of his large silver watch. Admittedly, some descriptive scenes such as Troy's sword play in the fern grove are a flavorful addition to *Far From the Madding Crowd*, but his treatment of less important phenomena produce a deterring and depressing effect.<sup>2</sup>

Verbose irrelevancy is not the only flaw in the plot of Hardy's novel. He enjoys inserting highly improbable scenes which sometimes border on the ridiculous. For example, the whole scene at the fair where Troy steals a note from Bathsheba's hand is preposterous. In Hardy's eyes, each person's fate is at the mercy of an impersonal force, and minor mistakes can prove to have incalculable major consequences.<sup>3</sup> "Luck in Hardy is always bad luck."<sup>4</sup> Everyone is struck by these forces and errors beyond his control. Hardy is often blamed for lack of adequate cause for many of his tragic happenings.<sup>5</sup> The fact that Joseph Poorgrass stops to drink with some friends on the way to the cemetery seems like a trivial matter until one visualizes the outcome. Because of Joseph's folly, Fanny's burial must be delayed, and her coffin must be stored in the home of Bathsheba and Troy. As a result, Bathsheba discovers that Fanny died in childbirth while trying to have the faithless Troy's child.<sup>6</sup> Nature later plays a trick on Troy by destroying the flowers he has planted on Fanny's grave.<sup>7</sup> The irony of this, as well as the irony of Oak's sheep being driven off a cliff and the storm's almost ruining the ricks, is almost ridiculous.

The central plot itself is unbelievable. Bathsheba's willingness to accept a loveless marriage with Boldwood as punishment for her sending the valentine is as immature as the original action, and her snobbish sense of social superiority to Oak lasts far too long. By a series of improbable crises and events, the difficulties to an obviously suitable marriage are removed, and the way is clear for a happy future. The conclusion leaves the reader with a "let down" feeling. Nothing in Bathsheba's own development brings it about, and her past life seems to be almost nonexistent. In short, "the action is too complicated, the characters too simple. The emotions often seem forced, and the events unconvincing and superficial."<sup>8</sup> Hardy was well aware of this problem but seemed to prefer to continue writing his novels in his unrealistic style. Hardy once said, ". . . the writer's problem is to stroke the balance between the uncommon and the ordinary. In working out this problem human nature must never be abnormal. . . . The uncommonness must be in the events, not in the characters."<sup>9</sup>

Unfortunately, his characters are not in the least uncommon. The *Far From the Madding Crowd* yokels are authentic enough. (Hardy does somehow fail to mention the uncertainty in the lives of these farmhands who seem to be unaware of the atrocious conditions and agricultural riots occurring during this period of time.)<sup>10</sup> Still, they are normal, nostalgic, pastoral people who are sometimes irresponsible and who occasionally get drunk. Hardy somehow makes them seem like real people, not wax figures in a museum.<sup>11</sup> It is too bad he could not do the same for the main characters. They are stereotyped to the point where their "commonness" is unrealistic.

Bathsheba, the main female character, is a "classic" woman. She, as a woman, loves flattery, is vain and egotistical, and excels in self-deception. At times she is stupid, and at other times she is knowledgeable, but at all times she seems somewhat artificial. Fanny, a weaker female character, is the epitome of gentle femininity. In her innocence she makes it known to the reader that she is going to be the female who is always dumped by her handsome lover in every romantic novel. Boldwood remains a persistent shadow throughout the book. He, of course, plays the man who is passionately in love and, being rejected, goes insane. Troy is nothing but an elaborate stage figure. He portrays that ever-present, handsome, swaggering, fickle philanderer. Gabriel Oak is the reader's stable hold on sanity. When everyone else falls apart, Oak is, as the name implies, a steady and strong oak tree.<sup>12,13</sup> Bathsheba must choose between three stereotypic men—the virtuous Gabriel Oak, the degenerate Sergeant Troy, and the psychotic Farmer Boldwood.<sup>14</sup> Bathsheba's final



choice is obvious. . . too obvious.

Why is her choice so clear? A passage from *Far From the Madding Crowd* may provide a clue:

Gabriel proceeded toward his home. In approaching the door, his toe kicked something which felt and sounded soft, leathery, and distended, like a boxing glove. It was a large toad humbly travelling across the path. Oak took it up. . . He knew what this direct message from the Great Mother meant.<sup>15</sup>

Significantly, Oak sees nature not as a hostile force but as the "Great Mother," even though she has ruined him and robbed him of his flock by the careless antics of a young sheepdog. He does not resent nature.<sup>16</sup> Gabriel represents the pastorally related theme of *Far From the Madding Crowd* and thus is the perfect candidate for Bathsheba's husband.

The theme of Hardy's novel is "Good prevails over evil."<sup>17</sup> In this case, pastoral society represents good, and evil is urban society. Therefore, there are not only stereotypes in the characterization but in the theme. Hardy endorses the pastoral ethic which establishes as fit "norms" for human behavior such characteristics as humility, stoic endurance, and understanding nature. Hardy rewards those individuals such as Oak who possess these qualities or learn to accept them as Bathsheba does.<sup>18</sup>

Troy's mishaps readily show his position in the rural world. Troy, a lover of the world and a symbol of urban values, is the cause of many problems, like the near loss of ricks. It is due to Troy's infidelity that Fanny dies,<sup>19</sup> and even though he repents, Mother Nature kills the flowers on Fanny's grave. Boldwood, the second symbol of the urban world, is overtaken by foolish passion, neglects his husbandry, forgets the farm, and goes insane.<sup>20</sup> Proud and worldly Bathsheba, after much thought, returns to the values of urban society and is blessed in marriage to Gabriel Oak. They, of course, will live "happily ever after."<sup>21</sup>

All the characters can be judged according to how much like Gabriel Oak they are. Those like Oak are rewarded; those who are not are purged. Characters like Bathsheba, Troy, and Boldwood who lack Gabriel's characteristics are subjected to many trials. Boldwood and Troy, who fail to learn their lessons, lose their grasp on life.<sup>22</sup>

Whatever the theme, the only achievement of *Far From the Madding Crowd* is the representation of Gabriel's dumb, devoted passion, his simplicity, and his sturdy patience.<sup>23</sup> Throughout the book we watch the movements of men and women as undirected leading to ruinous disintegration. On the other hand, we see certain

persons who lead orderly and predictable lives prevail, endure, and finally overcome.<sup>24</sup> It has been said that the theme is what comprises the achievement of this novel. It seems that a novel of this supposed calibre would harbor a more in-depth or original theme. It is disappointing when, in the conclusion, Bathsheba is given a happy ending to her portion of the novel since throughout Hardy's work she has been nothing more than a vain, selfish egotist. Gabriel Oak's pastoral views and consistent love in representation of the theme are not necessarily always parallel to the "happy ending" of *Far From the Madding Crowd* as the novel would lead one to believe. Country living is not, in every case, conducive to everything that is just, fair, and good, just as city living is not always evil. Hardy obviously implies the fallacy that if one "gets back to nature" life will be great and all problems will disappear. Virginia Woolf said of the Wessex novels:

As we consider the great structure it seems irrelevant to fasten on little points. . . Inevitably they are full of them. . . It is no mere transcript of life at a certain time and place that Hardy has given us. It is the vision of the world and of man's lot, as they revealed themselves to a powerful imagination, a profound and poetic genius, a gentle and humane soul.<sup>25</sup>

It would take more than a powerful imagination on the part of the reader to make *Far From the Madding Crowd* by Thomas Hardy a believable and realistic representation of nineteenth-century England, and even those "little points" cannot slip by unnoticed or be ignored.

#### NOTES

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 294.
3. Elizabeth Drew, *The Novel: A Modern Guide to Fifteen English Masterpieces* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Incorporated, 1963), p. 143.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
10. Margaret Drabble, ed., *The Genius of Thomas Hardy* (New York: Knopf, 1976), p. 115.



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12. James, p. 297.
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SADIE F. PRICE: ARTIST, BOTANIST  
AUTHOR, AND NATURALIST

by Lanna Gayle Martin

Sarah Frances Price, Sadie Frances Price, Sadie F. Price, Sadie Price, Miss Price, Miss Sadie, and even Sarah P. Rys<sup>1</sup> are all names for one lady whose interests were as varied as the forms of her name. Miss Price instructed painting classes in her home; conducted nature classes which met not only in her home but also in the countryside; compiled collections of shells, of bird exhibits and watercolor paintings of birds, and of specimens of many types of plants; and wrote books and articles for journals, magazines, and newspapers on nature subjects. She devoted her adult lifetime to her many interests and made major contributions to botanical studies.

Sarah Frances Price, born in 1849, was the third child of Alexander P. and Marie Morehouse Price. Sadie's brother was Frederick and her sister was Mary E. Price.<sup>2</sup> Sources disagree about Sadie Price's place of birth. In a letter (March 23, 1937) to Miss Margie Helm, then a librarian at what is now Western Kentucky University, Dr. John Hendley Barnhart, bibliographer for the New York Botanical Garden, says, "Sarah Frances Price was born in 1849 (I do not have the exact date) at Leavenworth, Indiana."<sup>3</sup> This statement concerning her place of birth appears to be false, because Mrs. Charles Crewdson and Dr. Harvey B. Lovel, each of whom has researched and written carefully about Sadie Price, state that she was born in Evansville, Indiana.<sup>4</sup> Another authority, Mrs. T.H. Beard, also gives Evansville as Sadie's birthplace.<sup>5</sup> The dispute over her place of birth may have been the result of the Price family's moving to Bowling Green, Kentucky, when Sadie was very young. During the Civil War the Price family moved north; Alexander joined the Union Army, and Sadie attended St. Agnes Hall, an Episcopal church school in Terre Haute, Indiana, and graduated from that school.<sup>6</sup>

About the time that Sadie "reached maturity," probably about 1865 or 1866, her family suffered "heavy financial reverses"; both of her parents died, and Sadie lost her health.<sup>7</sup> Although she never stopped trying to regain her health, she was bedridden for the next twelve years.<sup>8</sup> During this twelve-year period, roughly from 1865 to 1880, Sadie taught painting classes. Mrs. J. O. Carson, a Bowling Green woman who was like an adopted daughter to Miss Sadie,

remembered that Miss Sadie taught her painting classes even though she was confined to her bed and was in pain.<sup>9</sup> The exact date of Miss Sadie's trip to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for six months of treatment by Dr. Weir Mitchell is not known.<sup>10</sup> No records exist to describe the treatment that Dr. Mitchell employed, but whatever he did cured Sadie. She returned to Bowling Green, and when townspeople marveled at her recovery, she simply said that she "had been patched up."<sup>11</sup> Sadie did realize how fragile her health was, but she did not let her health keep her from her artistic and scientific work. On August 22, 1883, probably after her return from Philadelphia, the *Bowling Green Gazette* mentioned in a section called "School of Art" that Miss Sadie had some "memorial panels which displayed artistic talent of very high order" exhibited at Smith's bookstore in Bowling Green.<sup>12</sup> The notice continued to say that Miss Sadie was starting a course in "theoretical and practical art lessons" in September, and the *Gazette* commended her instruction.<sup>13</sup> Miss Sadie took her painting and [art] classes seriously. She was a clever and creative woman, and her ingenuity can be seen in "Atelier," a card game of artists with an artist's name at the top and three questions underneath on each card. Sometime between 1894 and 1898, Miss Sadie gave this game to Miss Florence Ragland, an eager follower. Miss Florence, as she was commonly known, probably used "Atelier" to teach her own students about artists. Miss Sadie continued to give drawing and painting lessons, but since she was now well enough to venture outside her home, she began to pursue her main interest — plants.

As a result of her interest in plants and her love of nature, several other members of the community wished to learn from Miss Sadie. Sadie began to conduct nature classes in her dining room.<sup>15</sup> Mrs. Carson, the close friend of Sadie, recalled during an interview with Miss Marjorie Clagett that Mrs. Will Potter, Mrs. C.U. McElroy, Mrs. Bettison, and maybe Mrs. Alex Patterson were all members of one of Sadie's dining room classes.<sup>16</sup> Miss Marjorie Clagett recounted that her father, Mr. John H. Clagett, another associate of Miss Sadie, urged to the point of insisting that his wife, Hattie Strange Clagett, attend one of Miss Sadie's nature classes.<sup>17</sup> Mrs. Clagett did, and at the end of her first session, Miss Sadie told her pupils to observe a bird and be able to name it at the next session. Mrs. Clagett did her homework, and when her turn came to identify her bird, she said, "I saw a blue jay." Everyone else burst out laughing. Mrs. Clagett had not taken bird watching as seriously as the other members had. Needless to say, Mrs. Clagett never attended any more nature classes.<sup>18</sup> Miss Sadie's nature classes were for individuals who were



genuinely interested in learning about birds, flowering herbs, trees, and shrubs.

Miss Sadie took three kinds of "excursions," nature outings to observe and collect plants for her herbarium ("a collection of dried plant specimens usually mounted and systematically arranged for reference"<sup>19</sup>): those which lasted an afternoon, those which lasted "a day or two," and those which lasted a week or more.<sup>20</sup> Many different people—sometimes in large groups sometimes in small—accompanied Miss Sadie on her outings. Quite probably she carried with her a reliable manual such as Dr. Asa Gray's published in 1887<sup>21</sup> and a vasculum (a tin, water-tight box with leather carrying straps which keeps plant specimens healthy until the gatherer returns home.)<sup>22</sup> Sadie took her afternoon excursions close to Bowling Green; two of her favorite expeditions were out the Glen Lily Pike and out the Dishman Mill Road.<sup>23</sup> Dr. and Mrs. J. O. Carson frequently took Miss Sadie on these jaunts with their horse and buggy, because the doctor and his wife were fond of Miss Sadie and enjoyed the outings. The Carsons also knew that Sadie did not own a horse and buggy;<sup>24</sup> therefore she was not able to go out alone. Sometimes Tommy Thomas and J. H. Clagett went on the short excursions with Miss Sadie.<sup>25</sup> Certainly Sadie enjoyed these trips with J. H. Clagett, because he was a knowledgeable ornithologist of Bowling Green and recorded birds for the Smithsonian Institute.<sup>26</sup> Mrs. Carson said that for trips which lasted one or two days, Sadie obtained a wagonette, a long stage-like wagon which could hold ten or twelve people. After the wagonette was prepared for the trip and her fellow travelers assembled, they would all set out, usually for Edmonson County. Mrs. Carson went on to say that she, Dr. Carson, General Sibert, and Sadie once rented a houseboat and went down the Nolin River, observing and collecting flowers on the bank;<sup>27</sup> this trip was one of the longer ones. Not all of Sadie's expeditions were easy ones. Sadie, Dr. Carson, his wife, and his daughter Louise went on an excursion to the "Gulf," which actually was the gulch of Edmonson County. Mrs. Carson referred to this trip as "one of the wildest." This group spent the night at Chalybeate Springs and the next day drove the buggy down to the "gulf." Because the gulf was eight feet deep, Dr. Carson unhitched his horse, led him down to the bottom of the gulch, climbed out, and then lowered his buggy to the bottom by rope.<sup>28</sup> Edmonson County was undoubtedly one of Sadie's favorite areas. She went there often with Bettie Patterson, who taught botany at Potter College, and they would spend time in the homes of Edmonson Countians. Occasionally, Florence Ragland accompanied Miss Sadie to Edmonson County.<sup>29</sup> Miss Sadie went on

excursions with many different people to many different places in many different ways, but each time the purpose was the same—to get new plant specimens for her herbarium.

All during the period of Sadie's excursions, she continued to establish her herbarium and to paint beautiful pictures of birds, flowers, and trees. Possibly she drew the trees and flowers while still in the woods, but the flowers may have been drawn from gathered specimens once she returned home. Miss Clagett said that her brothers Argo and Arthur Underwood "got" birds for Miss Sadie to paint. Miss Clagett went on to explain that in this case "got" was synonymous with "shot."<sup>30</sup> An article written in 1964 about Sadie Price mentions Porter Mitchell as the third young man who "was credited with obtaining for her some rare specimens of birds."<sup>31</sup> No one has been willing to say that shooting was equivalent to obtaining. However she acquired her birds, she must have been justified because her watercolor bird paintings are excellent. The two bird paintings which are now in the Kentucky Museum, "Song Sparrow" and "Chickadee," came directly from Sadie into the Clagett family probably between 1889 and 1895.<sup>32</sup> These bird paintings remained in the Clagett family and for many years graced the walls of Kate Clagett Duncan's home in Bowling Green. Mrs. Duncan eventually presented her paintings to the Kentucky Museum. Sadie also gave Dr. J. O. Carson one of her bird paintings,<sup>33</sup> but its whereabouts are presently unknown. The Kentucky Museum is fortunate to have three of Sadie's untitled watercolors of three red tulips, a magnolia blossom, and a deer in the forest and another watercolor which she titled "The Old Footbridge over the Barren River."

Sadie painted the native birds and plants of Warren county from 1883 until 1889<sup>34</sup> and continued to add plant specimens to her herbarium for exhibition in the Columbian Exhibition of the Chicago World's Fair in 1893.<sup>35</sup> Mrs. T. H. Beard, in her 1963 article about Sadie Price, mentions that Sadie took to the Fair "her exhibit of birds, bird paintings, and 720 different plant specimens, drawings and paintings [watercolors] arranged in series by which they belonged in nature."<sup>36</sup> This article appears to be the only one to list a bird exhibit. If in fact Miss Sadie did have three Bowling Green young men shoot rare specimens so that she could paint, she, being a nature lover, surely had the birds stuffed. It is probable that these stuffed birds composed the bird exhibit which Sadie entered in the Fair. Mrs. Charles Crewdson, who wrote a sketch of Sadie Price, reports that Sadie's herbarium, which included "ferns, fungi, lichens and mosses,"<sup>37</sup> won her "first prize over more than one hundred contestants."<sup>38</sup> The 1903-1905 edition of *Who's Who* records that



Sadie received an award medal and a diploma.<sup>39</sup> Possibly Sadie took her bird exhibit, her various watercolor paintings, and her herbarium; whatever she took obviously was presented very well. Miss Mary Price, Sadie's sister, sent the medal and the diploma to the University of Kentucky after Sadie's death.<sup>40</sup>

From 1890 until 1903 Sadie compiled and published much information on many different subjects in books, journals, and newspapers. Sadie's works were published posthumously from 1903 until 1907 by Miss Mary Price. Sadie published two compilations: *Songs from the Southland* (1890)<sup>41</sup> and *Shakespeare's Twilights* (1892).<sup>42</sup> During the years when Sadie was preparing for the exhibit, she was also formulating lists of the specimens; the list of her flowering herbs, *The Flora of Warren County Kentucky* (1893), "contained 714 species of vascular plants."<sup>43</sup> Between 1893 and 1903 Sadie found 255 new species<sup>44</sup> and added them to her list in a hand-written addendum. In 1895 *Trees and Shrubs of Kentucky*, another list, was published. Sadie's best known was *The Fern Collector's Handbook and Herbarium* (1897). Sadie was very proud that Henry Holt and Company published this book. While doing the botanical work in August 1898, Sadie collected land and freshwater shells, mainly in Warren County; she wrote "Mollusca of Southern Kentucky," (1900), which listed 151 specimens.<sup>45</sup> The article appeared in *Nautilus*, "a monthly devoted to the interests of conchologists."<sup>46</sup> The date for the publication of Sadie's "Kentucky Folk Lore" is not known; this writing is a collection of proverbs and superstitions which Sadie encountered when visiting in homes of Kentucky natives while she was on her excursions.<sup>47</sup> *Perusin' the Pennyryle County* (part one printed December 1906; part two printed January 1907)<sup>48</sup> is a detailed description of Miss Sadie's expeditions through the Pennyryle. The unusual title was inspired by an Edmonson County woman who once told Sadie that she wanted to go with Sadie and "peruse the county"; this phrase amused Sadie.<sup>49</sup> Sadie wrote numerous other articles; many of these were printed in *The Asa Gray Bulletin*, *The Plant World*, *The Fern Bulletin*, *American Ornithology*, *The American Naturalist*, *The American Botanist*, and several Kentucky newspapers.<sup>50</sup> Miss Mary Price submitted several articles, including "Perusin' the Pennyryle Country," to journals and newspapers after Sadie's death from dysentery on July 3, 1903.<sup>51</sup>

According to Mary Price's records of Sadie's discoveries, Sadie discovered seven new species of plants;<sup>52</sup> however, only five of these actually were named in Miss Sadie's honor.<sup>53</sup> Biological names consist of three parts: genus, species, and the author's name.<sup>54</sup> To

get a plant named, a botanist must send type specimens, which include root, stem, leaves, flowers, and seed pods, to an author who usually works for or with an herbarium researching to make sure that the specimen is new; the author then characterizes or describes the plant, and he chooses a name for the specimen and publishes the write-up.<sup>55</sup> All type specimens are kept in herbaria.<sup>56</sup> Sadie sent type specimens to several herbaria: the National Herbarium of the Smithsonian Institute, the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, and the New York Botanical Garden.<sup>57</sup> Miss Mary Price recorded "Clematis Priceae Small" in her list of discoveries; however, the specimen was named "Climatis flaccida Small."<sup>58</sup> The other plant discovered by Sadie but not named for her is the "Aster Kentuckiensis Britton."<sup>59</sup> B.L. Robinson, curator of the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University,<sup>60</sup> characterized and named the "Apios Priceae Robinson" in "A New Species of Apios from Kentucky" in *The Botanical Gazette*,<sup>61</sup> one of Sadie's sketches of the specimen accompanied the article.<sup>62</sup> John K. Small mentioned Miss Sadie's name in the characterization of the "Oxalis Priceae Small," which was included in his *Studies of the Botany of the Southeastern United States* (1898).<sup>63</sup> Sadie also sent to J.K. Small her specimens of *Cornus*, which was named "Cornus Priceae Small,"<sup>64</sup> The type specimens of "Cornus Priceae Small" are presumably in the New York Botanical Garden.<sup>65</sup> Miss Price's aster is the common name which is included in the characterization of the "Aster Priceae Britton."<sup>66</sup> In about 1899 "Miss Sadie Price found near Bowling Green a wild violet. . ." <sup>67</sup> but the violet was not named until 1903, when it became the "Viola Preceana Pollard."<sup>68</sup> In 1959 Mrs. J. O. Carson could remember several names of plants named in honor of Sadie, and Mrs. Carson very clearly "remembered Sadie's pride when the violet was named"<sup>69</sup> and explained that Sadie's pride was never boastful.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps it was the sweetness of the little violet, which is "purple in the center, shaded out to white,"<sup>71</sup> that made her so fond of it. The type specimens of the "Aster Priceae Britton" and the "Viola Priceana Pollard" are in the National Herbarium of the Smithsonian Institute.<sup>72</sup>

After Sadie's death, Mary Price became overseer for all the collections and paintings. For a while Mary Price, working with the curator of the St. Louis, Missouri, Botanical Garden Herbarium, was trying to sell the bird paintings. Fortunately, Mary Price could not find buyers; thus, the collection of bird paintings remained intact. Many times during the correspondence between Mary Price and the curator, he reminded her that the St. Louis Herbarium was extremely interested in acquiring the complete works of Sadie Price.<sup>73</sup> It is no



wonder that the St. Louis Herbarium wanted the Price collection: the bird paintings show the subject in the natural habitat, on the nest or on the branch; the insect watercolors show all the stages of life, and the plant sketches show largely the flowers with a cross-section of the seed pod or fruit in one corner.<sup>74</sup> Mary Price in her list of Sadie's collections recorded the herbarium, which went to St. Louis, as having "2000 pressed plants—912 sketches."<sup>75</sup> Also, Mary Price listed 150 watercolor sketches of Kentucky birds as going to the Missouri Botanical Garden Library.<sup>76</sup> The curator in 1937 of the St. Louis Herbarium said that the collection of Kentucky plants "numbered 2,912 specimens of which there were 965 sketches largely in color."<sup>77</sup> The size of the collection probably caused Mary Price to estimate. Unfortunately, Sadie Price's collection did not remain in Kentucky, but it is certainly well preserved and appreciated by the Missouri Botanical Garden Herbarium.<sup>78</sup>

After all of the effort that Sadie put into her nature studies of Southern Kentucky and all of the national recognition that she received through the herbaria and publications, it seems ironic that only a few Bowling Green citizens knew that Sadie "had a national reputation as an author, naturalist, and botanist"<sup>79</sup> and that Bowling Green made only a small effort to remember its once-famous citizen. This small effort took the form of a small article printed in the Bowling Green newspaper immediately following Sadie's death: "Miss Sadie was one of the city's most talented and intellectual women.... She was unquestionably one of the best informed women not only in Bowling Green but in the State."<sup>80</sup> An Illinois newspaper realized the importance of Sadie's works more than the Bowling Green paper. The Illinois paper published a posthumous article about Sadie which described her as an author, naturalist, botanist, conchologist, and ornithologist, who left precise and complete works.<sup>81</sup> But the *Times Journal* on July 11, 1903, ran a tribute which truly expressed a sincere appreciation for Sadie and her work: "She was a true highpriestess of nature, a vestal Virgin lifting reverently 'the rustling veil [sic] which God is weaving to screen His face from mortal eyes.'... With her, nature was not a fad or pastime, but a pursuit, a loving passion which enlarged into wide and accurate knowledge... She was our pioneer in the scientific study of nature..."<sup>82</sup>

## NOTES

1. Sarah F. P. Rys is the pseudonym used by Sarah Frances for a short story

- entitled "Conscience Money," n.d.
2. Mrs. T. H. Beard, "Sadie Price Resided in Cottage on 11th Street," *Park City Daily News*, 3 November 1963, p. 10, col. 2.
3. John Hendley Barnhart Letter, March 1937, Manuscript collection Price B P946, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.
4. See Mrs. Charles N. Crewdson, "Kentucky's Leading Botanist and Her Life Work," *The Louisville Times*, n. p., MS Price B P946 scrapbook; Harvey B. Lovell, "Bibliography of Sarah F. Price, Kentucky Naturalist," *Transactions of the Kentucky Academy of Science* (August 1951), 121-128.
5. Beard, p. 10, col. 2.
6. Crewdson, n. p.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. A summarized taped interview with Mrs. J. O. Carson by Miss Marjorie Clagett, January 29, 1959.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Crewdson, n. p.
12. "School of Art," *Bowling Green Gazette*, 22 August 1883, p. 3.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Game, MS Collection, Price B P946.
15. Summarized Taped interview with Carson.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Marjorie Clagett, 1645 Chestnut Street, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Interview 7 December 1979.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* (Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1970).
20. Summarized taped interview with Carson.
21. Asa Gray, *Gray's School and Field Botany*, revised ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: New York Book Co., March 1887).
22. Interview with Clagett.
23. Summarized taped interview with Carson.
24. Interview with Clagett.
25. Summarized taped interview with Carson.
26. Interview with Clagett.
27. Summarized taped interview with Carson.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. Interview with Clagett.
31. Beard, p. 10, col. 1.
32. If Sadie's bird paintings did enter the Clagett family between 1889 and 1895, then Sadie gave the paintings to Luli Northcott, Maggie's sister, after 1895. Luli and Maggie were both friends of Sadie.
33. Summarized taped interview with Carson.
34. Lovel, pp. 121-128.
35. Beard, p. 10, col. 1.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Crewdson, n. p.
38. Beard, p. 10, col. 1.
39. John W. Leonard, ed., *Who's Who in America: A Geographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of the United States* (Chicago: A. N.



- Marguis & Company, 1903-1905), p. 1197.
40. Beard, p. 10, col. 1.
  41. S. F. Price, *Songs from the Southland* (Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, 1890).
  42. S. F. Price, *Shakespeare's Twilights* (Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, 1892).
  43. Lovell, p. 121.
  44. *Ibid.*
  45. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
  46. Sadie F. Price, "Mollusca of Southern Kentucky," *The Nautilus: A Monthly Devoted to the Interests of Conchologists*, 14 (7 November 1900), 75-79.
  47. Sadie F. Price, "Kentucky Folk Lore," *Journal of American Folk Lore*, 14 (n. d.), 30-38.
  48. Sadie F. Price, "Perusin' the Pennyryle Country," *American Botanist*, December 1906, pp. 76-81; January 1907, pp. 105-112. MS Collection Price B P946.
  49. Summarized taped interview with Carson.
  50. List of Published works, MS Price B. P946 scrapbook.
  51. Lovell, p. 122.
  52. List of discoveries, MS Price B P946 scrapbook.
  53. Lovell, p. 122.
  54. Interview with Claggett.
  55. *Ibid.*
  56. Photo file, "Price, Sarah F.," Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Ky.
  57. *Ibid.*
  58. Lovell, p. 122.
  59. Nathaniel L. Britton, and Hon. Addison Brown, *An Illustrated Flora of the Northern United States, Canada, and the British Possessions from Newfoundland and to the Parallel of the Southern Boundary of Virginia and from the Atlantic Ocean Westward to the 102d Meridian* (New York: Scribner's and sons, 1896-1898), p. 439.
  60. Lovell, p. 121.
  61. B. L. Robinson, "A New Species of Apios from Kentucky," *Botanical Gazette*, (n. d.), pp. 450-3.
  62. *Ibid.*
  63. John K. Small, "A Kentucky Cornel: John K. Small," *Torreya*, 1 (May 1901), 54-55.
  64. List of discoveries, MS Collection Price B P946 scrapbook.
  65. Photo file, "Price, Sarah F."
  66. Britton and Brown, p. 439.
  67. "Wild Violet Found by Miss Price Some Six Years Ago Is Unlike Anything of its Kind Ever Seen" *Park City Daily News* 13 April 1905, n. p.
  68. Beard, p. 10, col. 1.
  69. Summarized taped interview with Carson.
  70. *Ibid.*
  71. "Wild Violet Found by Miss Price Some Six Years Ago Is Unlike Anything of its Kind Ever Seen," n. p.
  72. Photo file, "Price, Sarah F."
  73. Interview with Riley Handy, curator of Kentucky Museum, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky. 12 December 1979.

74. *Ibid.*
75. List of collections MS Price B P946 scrapbook.
76. *Ibid.*
77. J. M. Greenman Letter, March 1937, MS Price B P946 scrapbook.
78. Interview with Handy.
79. "Some Interesting Things of the Late Miss Sadie F. Price," *Times-Journal*, 14 July 1903, n. p.
80. "Miss Price Was One of Our Most Talented and Intellectual Women," vertical file obituaries, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.
81. "Some Interesting Things of the Late Miss Sadie F. Price," n. p.
82. The Rev. Frank Thomas, "Tribute to Miss Sadie F. Price," *Times-Journal*, 11 July 1903, vertical file obituaries, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

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**The Imagery of Smoke, Fire, and Ash:  
A Study of the Theme of Guilt and Sin in  
*Great Expectations* and *Hard Times*  
by Irene Hansel Wood**

Numerous books have been written in the last hundred years in analysis and celebration of the powerful satires of Charles Dickens. His novels remain timeless in their plea for humanism and brotherhood, as well as inexhaustible in meaning and literary technique. As an integral part of his artistry, Dickens carefully illustrates the bleak, lifeless world of mechanized existence, the exploitation of children, and the false values of Victorian society. Although he employs many modes of design to intensify his satire, most ingenious is Dickens' use of the blazing, searing imagery of smoke, fire, and ash. It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of the open-coal fire in the Victorian household. Life literally revolved around it with all its concomitant implications of labor, drudgery, dirt, and soot. Hence, the imagery related to fire becomes a stage property of focus and multidimensional symbolic significance in Dickens' novels. The images of ash and smoke evoke the ghastly scene of Miss Havisham's decayed wedding feast, as well as the dismal vision of the smoke-serpents of the chimneys of Coketown. Although Dickens employs smoking, flaming imagery to allude to the evil that lurks in the Victorian environment, his true concern is the disastrous effect it has on its victims. Thus, it should be evident, as exemplified in both *Great Expectations* and *Hard Times*, that the images of smoke, fire, and ash become the implicit, many-sided symbols for the guilt and sin of those characters who fall victim to a false set of Victorian values.

Although *Great Expectations* embraces the theme of the corrupting power of wealth, on another level it is also a study of the all-pervasive motif of sin and guilt. Within the first chapters of the novel, Dickens presents the guilt-ridden, remorseful child Pip who sins on several plateaus before he is actually capable of true evil. Later, when Pip is a young man, his digression and culpability revolve around his denial of the value of the love of Joe and Magwitch. Moreover, Dickens illuminates the crime of parent against child, for in the martyristic description of Mrs. Joe, the reader learns that Pip is more than a burden to her; he is a delinquent and is treated as such.



Last, but not least, as Miss Havisham enters the novel to tantalize Pip with social betterment and the glitter of wealth, her sin is aggression against life in using both Pip and Estella as instruments of revenge for her broken heart and social disgrace. Thus, with these sins in mind, it should become clear that Dickens subtly employs the symbolic imagery of smoke, fire, and ash as a structure to intensify the scene and to foreshadow the impending doom eminent in the guilt and shame of those characters who fall victim to a perfidious set of Victorian mores.

Within the first few chapters of the novel, Pip, frightened and guilt-ridden, is presented sitting before the fire, contemplating with dread the fact that he must steal for the horrid convict lurking in the nearby graveyard. Along with Pip's fearful thoughts, Dickens evokes the imagery of fire:

My thoughts strayed. . . as I looked disconsolately at the fire. For the fugitive out in the marsh. . . with the iron leg, the mysterious young man, the file, the food, and the dreadful pledge I was under to commit a larceny. . . rose before me in the avenging coals. . . [and] as the marsh winds made the fire glow and flare, I thought I heard the voice outside of the man with the iron leg. . .<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, Young Pip rises early the next morning and steals the articles from his sister's pantry. That night, filled with feelings of culpability and dread, he longs to admit his crime to his kindhearted brother-in-law. The scene is again illumined with the image of fire as Pip cannot find the courage to speak:

The fear of losing Joe's confidence. . . tied up my tongue. I morbidly represented to myself that if Joe knew it, I never afterwards could see him at the fireside without thinking he was meditating on it. (G.E.; p. 45)

Young Pip is characterized as a frightened child, suffering from the pangs of conscience to the degree that he imagines that the coals of the fire are avenging him. Moreover, the fiery imagery also accompanies a description of the tyrannical Mrs. Joe as she is presented with a reference to her whipping tool, a stick of cane, which she uses to abuse her ward.

It is that first night, when Pip has fallen into the hands of the convict. The child, nearly hysterical, rushes home, realizing he is late and fully expecting violent repercussions from his sister. When Pip enters the kitchen, however, he learns that she, in a rage, has gone to search for him. Dickens underlines the sister's evil nature as Joe explains,

"She made a grab at Tickler [the cane stick] and she

Ram-paged out" said Joe, slowly clearing the fire between the lower bars with the poker. . . "she Ram-paged out, Pip," said Joe. . . while Pip looked in great depression at the fire. (G.E.; p. 8)

Dickens' flaming imagery continues to intensify the theme of child abuse when, the next day, (Christmas Day!) Pumblechook, in collaboration with the hateful sister, finds pleasure in badgering poor Pip:

I was quiet in a corner, [fearful that Pumblechook would drag me] before the fire as if I were going to be cooked. He would say, "Now, Mum, here is this boy which you brought up by hand. . . Hold your head up boy, and be forever grateful. . . (G.E.; p. 111)

Such is the hearth where young Pip spends his childhood. Joe Gargery, awkward and illiterate, is the only person who shows love and good-will toward Pip. Moreover, the child's situation is further complicated when he learns he has been invited to the home of Miss Havisham to play. Dickens augments the scene and alludes to the future as he describes her abode of darkness, decay, and frozen time with the smoky image of fire:

A fire had been kindled in the damp old-fashioned grate, and it was more disposed to go out than to burn up; and the reluctant smoke which hung in the room seemed colder. . . than our own marsh mist. (G.E.; p. 96)

Young Pip finds the atmosphere so foreboding that he is unable to play; instead, he passes the afternoon in a card game with the intriguing Estella. That evening, however, when he returns home, he is cross-examined by his odious sister for details of the visit. Pip replies with a number of fantastic lies and later that night discovers that his conscience so plagues him that he must admit his sin to Joe. Again in the imagery of blazing, raging fire, Dickens summons the image of guilt-ridden Pip before his confessional altar, the kindly blacksmith's forge:

Before the fire goes out, Joe, I should like to tell you something. . . Joe. . . you remember all that about Miss Havisham's? . . . It's a terrible thing Joe; it ain't true. . . It's all lies, Joe. (G.E.; p. 79)

The years of childhood pass and Pip makes weekly visits to Miss Havisham's, as she sits perpetually "on a settee, near the fire" (G.E.; p. 417). As they take their routine walk about the rotting parlor, Pip teaches the old woman the tell-tale song he has learned from Joe: "Blow the fire; Blow the Fire; Roaring dryer; Soaring higher, Old Clem" (G.E.; p. 110). As Pip becomes more aware of the beautiful



Estella, under the old woman's influence, he also becomes increasingly attuned to his own social inadequacy and lack of cultivation. Therefore, when the day arrives that he is to become apprenticed to Joe, Pip realizes he no longer desires to be a blacksmith. Dickens heightens the scene and foreshadows Pip's future crime with the imagery of coal and ash:

Once it had seemed to me that when I should . . . go into the forge as Joe's apprentice, I should be distinguished and happy — Now the reality was . . . I only felt that I was dusty with the dust of a small coal. . . . (G. E.; p. 123)

Throughout Part I of Pip's expectations, Dickens subtly magnifies the boy's childish crimes and emotions of repentance with the imagery of smoke, fire, and ash. It should not be surprising to discover, then, that when the time arrives that Pip is willing to deny Joe's love for social status, that he will continually suffer the pangs of guilt within Dickens' fiery imagery. And, as Pip's denial of Joe is symbolized in a blazing setting, so will be his refusal of his benefactor. Dickens continues to enhance his artistry with the flaming imagery that surrounds the doom of Mrs. Joe, but only does his technique reach the climax of its potential with the fulfillment of the prophecy of "Old Clem."

Dickens goes on to dramatize the motif of moral digression when Pip, now a young man, learns on the way through town one evening that there has been a horrible tragedy at his home. Again, Dickens obliquely concentrates the focus of the setting with his metaphorical flames, as Pip describes the scene:

So, I became aware of my sister — lying without sense or movement on the bare boards where she had been knocked down by a tremendous blow on the back of the head, dealt by some unknown hand when her face was turned toward the fire — destined never to be on the rampage again. . . . The fire had not burnt unusually low, nor was the snuff of the candle very low. . . . the candle — which stood on the table between the door and my sister. . . . when she stood facing the fire and was struck. . . . (G. E.; pp. 138-139)

Hence, Dickens' artistic plan begins to come full circle as Mrs. Joe is destined to spend the remainder of her insensible life as a docile invalid. Moreover, Pip is plagued throughout his lifetime with the memory of "the figure of my sister, in her chair by the kitchen fire, haunting me day and night" (G. E.; p. 323). Biddy then comes to live at the Gargerys' to care for Mrs. Joe, and Pip's feelings of frustration continue to increase as he dreams of becoming an educated young gentleman, a suitable husband for Estella. Ironically, it is not long

after his sister's tragic attack that Pip receives the news that he has a mysterious benefactor, someone who wishes to see him in a fine position, living in grand style. Pip, painfully aware of his degrading social status and no longer able to contain his feelings of disgust and repulsion for Joe, grasps for the glory and glitter of the Victorian social ladder, as well as for the perils of sin. Joe, humble and sacrificing, wants only the best for Pip and shows no hesitation in releasing him from his indentures. All the while secretly assuming that the donor of his fortune is Miss Havisham, believing that her plan includes his beloved Estella, Pip prepares to leave for London. Miss Havisham's corrupting influence has triumphed, and Pip is willing to barter all for wealth. He does not escape without remorse, for Dickens' avenging imagery burns perpetually in Pip's guilty breast. The scene is set the night before Pip's departure for London, as he sits before the fire with Joe:

Joe. . . was seated by the kitchen fire. . . gazing intently at the coals. I too sat down before the fire and gazed at the coals. . . . My sister was in her cushioned chair. . . and Biddy. . . sat before the fire. . . . The more I looked into the glowing coals, the more incapable I became of looking at Joe. . . . Anyway, I sat. . . looking into the fire, as those two talked about. . . what they should do without me. . . . And whenever I caught one of them looking at me. . . I felt. . . as if they were expressing some mistrust in me. (G. E.; pp. 166-167)

So, Pip goes to London, and is soon settled into the life of a gentleman, still believing his benefactor to be Miss Havisham, still longing for Estella. Much to his dismay, however, Pip soon receives the news that Joe is coming to London for a visit. In fact, he even admits to himself that he secretly dreads the mere sight of clumsy Joe ascending the stairs. To illuminate the degree of Pip's moral degeneration, Dickens again elicits the ritual of burning imagery as he describes their reunion:

I felt my face fire up as I looked at Joe. . . . He fell into such unaccountable fits of meditation. . . was afflicted with such remarkable coughs. . . his eyes attracted in such strange directions. . . . I felt impatient of him and out of temper with him; in which condition he heaped coals of fire upon my head. (G. E.; p. 258)

It is clear, then, that Pip is vaguely aware that his feelings are sinful. And though he pursues his life in the city as he pursues Estella, he is haunted by feelings of guilt, as he is of the memories of the fires at home:



As I had grown accustomed to my expectations. . . . Their influence on my own character I disguised from my own recognition as much as possible but. . . I lived in a chronic state of uneasiness respecting my behavior to Joe. . . . Many a time of an evening, when I sat alone looking at the fire, I thought, after all, there was no fire like the forge fire and the kitchen fire at home. (*G. E.*; p. 316)

Although Pip is still under the impression that Miss Havisham is the source of his profit, and though he still has hope that Estella may learn to love him, he is not completely blind to the old woman's perversions, nor can he ignore Estella's cold manner and indifferent cruelty. Consequently, Dickens presents Pip's visit to Miss Havisham's, projected in the dreary atmosphere of flickering fire light and ashy decay. By this time, Miss Havisham's mental state is completely psychopathic in her desire for revenge, and Estella appears possessed despite her beauty:

"How does she[Estella] use you, Pip? How does she use you?" [Miss Havisham] asked me. . . with her witch-like eagerness. . . . When we sat by her flickering fire. . . she was most weird. . . . I saw in this that Estella was to wreak Miss Havisham's revenge on men. . . . The candles that lighted that room. . . were high from the ground, and they burnt with the steady dullness of artificial light. . . . As I looked round at them, at the pale gloom they made. . . and at her own awful figure with its ghostly reflection thrown large by the fire upon the ceiling and the wall. . . . I saw everything. . . repeated and thrown back to me. We were seated by the fire. . . . Estella. . . moving to the great chimney piece. . . . Estella looked down at the fire. . . . Her face expressed a self-possessed indifference to the wild heat. . . that was almost cruel. (*G. E.*; pp. 352-353)

Shortly thereafter, Pip learns that Estella is betrothed to another. Yet, he remains steadfast in the belief that Miss Havisham is his benefactor and still holds his great expectations in high esteem. All this is soon to change, for Pip receives an unexpected visitor, a ghostly figure from the past who announces that he is the donor of Pip's livelihood, that he, in fact, is Pip's "second father." Needless to say, Pip is devastated by the news, humiliated to think that the source of his wealth is not Miss Havisham at all, but a depraved convict of the lowest social status. Dickens heightens the climax of his satire as he magnifies Pip's snobbish reaction in the blazing imagery of the fire:

He sat down in a chair that stood before the fire. . . but I

did not know him. . . as he sat in the chair before the fire. . . . He. . . got up and stood at the side of the fire. . . . He put a foot up to the bars, to dry and warm it, and the wet boot began to steam; but he neither looked at it, nor at the fire, but steadily looked at me. It was only now that I began to tremble. . . . I stood. . . where I seemed to be suffocating. . . the room began to surge and turn. . . . Miss Havisham's intentions toward me, all a mere dream; Estella not designed for me. . . . The convict, guilty of I knew not what crimes. . . but deepest pain of all. . . I had deserted Joe. . . too stunned to think. . . to know how wretched I was. . . . The candles were wasted out, the fire was dead. (*G. E.*; pp. 367-377)

Thus, Dickens through his ingenious use of fiery imagery, brings Pip's sin and guilt full circle. The young man's dream of material success fostered by Miss Havisham, along with his hope for Estella's love, are instantaneously shattered. And, ironically, he owes his present position to Magwitch, whose social degenerative status is much beneath that of Joe. Moreover, Pip's depression is intensified when he learns from Miss Havisham that Estella is married. Nonetheless, his trials are to become more burdensome and his anguish more unbearable as the prophecy of "Old Clem" is fulfilled. At this point, Dickens seems to chant the childish song "Blow the Fire, Soaring Higher" as he evokes the scene at Miss Havisham's set in the midst of his symbolic imagery:

I saw her sitting on the hearth. . . in contemplation of the ashy fire. . . . I saw her seated in the ragged chair upon the hearth close to the fire. . . . I saw a great flaming light spring up. In the same moment I saw her running at me, shrieking, with a whirl of fire blazing all about her, and soaring at least as many feet above her head as she was high. . . . I knew nothing until I knew that we were on the floor. . . and that patches of tinder yet alight were floating in the smokey air, which a moment ago had been her faded bridal dress. . . . I saw patches of tinder that had been her garments, no longer alight, but falling in a black shower around us. . . . Assistance was sent for, and I held her until it came, as if I. . . fancied that if I let her go, the fire would break out again and consume her. . . . After that it gradually set in that she said innumerable times. . . "What have I done!" And then, "When she first came, I meant to save her from misery like mine." (*G. E.*; pp. 468-469)

Miss Havisham, caught in the raging Hell of her corruption, embraces



a torturous doom while the remnants of her decayed bridal gown float hideously in the smoky, stagnant air. Dickens does not allow Pip to escape without injury either; it is only fitting that he should illuminate Pip's fate with his searing, avenging imagery:

I was astonished to see that both my hands were burnt; (G. E.; p. 469) My left arm was a good deal burned to the elbow and, less severely, as high as the shoulder; it was very painful, but the flames had set in that direction. . . . My right hand and arm were not so badly burnt. . . . My hair had been caught, but not my neck and face. . . . I found it painfully difficult. . . impossible to get rid of the impression of the glare of the flames. . . and the fierce burning smell. . . Miss Havisham's cries. . . her running at me with all that height of fire above her head. The pain of the mind was harder to strive against than any bodily pain I suffered. (G. E.; p. 471)

Throughout *Great Expectations*, Dickens develops the theme of sin and guilt in the symbolic images of smoke, fire, and ash. Within the first few chapters of the novel, young Pip appears, full of remorse and painfully guilt-ridden, and as he suffers through each digression, his tribulations are subtly illuminated in Dickens' symbolic imagery. Moreover, as Pip becomes a young man and his sins become more treacherous, his perilous fall from grace is augmented in numerous fiery metaphors that eventually culminate in blazing anguish and terror. And Mrs. Joe, the epitome of fanatical abuse, is ironically rendered incapable of further cruelty as she meets her attacker in the flickering shadows of Dickens' fire of justice. In turn, Miss Havisham, who conducts a requiem of darkness and decay in memory of her social disgrace, commits several offenses against the human heart as she becomes psychopathic in her desire for revenge. She too must meet her doom as she plunges into the exploding, searing rage of an inferno of her own making. As Dickens builds upon the repertoire of his artistry with the writing of *Hard Times*, he will again summon his imagery of smoke and fire as an integral part of his ingenious design.

In *Hard Times* Dickens attacks the industrialized world of factories and slums, the dehumanizing effects of mechanized existence, and makes a heart-felt plea for the renewal of brotherhood, communion, and the aesthetic pleasures of life. As part of his strategy, Dickens illustrates the moral corruption that is inevitable in the lives of children reared according to the life-denying values of utilitarianism. Tom and Louisa appear in the novel as representations of both the ethical and social failures of Gradgrindism. Although at first glance it seems tragic enough that

Tom is a criminal and that Louisa is unsuccessful in marriage, Dickens is implicitly pointing to an even greater ethos. Thus, the symbolic imagery of smoke, fire, and ash again appear in Dickens' work as a structure to enhance the focus of the scene of guilt and sin that accompanies the burning passion of a perverted brother-sister relationship.

When Tom and Louisa are first presented in the novel, they have already left the years of childhood behind them — years spent stoically chastized from the vitality of imagination. In their cold, dreary, factual world, they have learned that the only emotional outlet available to them is through their affection for each other. As their father discovers them peeking into the forbidden circus tent, the painfully embarrassed, shamefaced reaction of the siblings suggests not only the feelings of guilt at being caught in a childish interest in clowns and acrobats, but also a potentially dangerous awareness of adolescent emotion. Thus, through the suggestive image of fire, Dickens illustrates the forbidden spark that is beginning to ignite between brother and sister:

Mr. Gradgrind crossed to the spot where his family was thus disgraced, laid a hand upon each erring child, and said:

"Louisa!! Thomas!!"

Both rose, red and disconcerted; but Louisa looked at her father with more boldness than Thomas did. . . . There was an air of jaded sullenness in both of them, and particularly in the girl; yet, struggling through the dissatisfaction of her face, there was a light with nothing to rest upon, a fire with nothing to burn. . . uncertain, eager, doubtful flashes, which had something painful in them. . . . She was a child now, of fifteen or sixteen, but at no distant day would seem to become a woman all at once.<sup>2</sup>

Dickens continues with his fiery imagery to obliquely foreshadow a future characterized by moral decay, as Mr. Gradgrind speaks with Mr. Bounderby that same afternoon. Gradgrind, concerned about his children's behavior, confides to Bounderby the circumstances of Tom's and Louisa's digression and idly wonders about the cause of their defiance.

"Bounderby," said Gradgrind, drawing a chair to the fireside, "you are always so interested in my young people — particularly Louisa — that I make no apology for saying. . . I am very vexed by this discovery. . . . It would appear. . . as if something had crept into Thomas's and



Louisa's minds which...has never been intended to be developed.... Then comes the question," said the eminently practical father, with his eyes on the fire, "in what has this vulgar curiosity its rise?" (*H. T.*; p. 14)

Thus, it is clear within the first few chapters of the novel that the potential remorse and culpability of Tom and Louisa is illuminated in the imagery of fire. Moreover, the motif of perverted love is further augmented in a flaming image as Dickens points out that Louisa's abnormal attachment to Tom makes the overtures of other men seem repulsive and disgusting to her. The scene is set as Bounderby arrives to talk to Louisa about her indiscreet display of interest in the circus. He promises to appeal to her father in her behalf, and then kisses her on the cheek:

Louisa languidly leaned upon the window...while young Thomas stood sniffing revengefully at the fire...when she coldly paused...and ungraciously raised her cheek toward him [Bounderby]. He went his way, but she stood...rubbing the cheek he had kissed with her handkerchief until it was burning red. She was still doing this, five minutes afterwards. (*H. T.*; p. 16)

Dickens continues to heighten the intensity of his theme of growing sin and guilt as he projects the images of smoke, fire, and ash to liken the repelling atmosphere of Coketown to the depraved abnormality of the Gradgrind children:

Coketown...it was a town of red brick, or...would have been red if the smoke and ashes had allowed it...it was a town of unnatural red and black like the painted face of a savage. It was a town of...tall chimneys out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves forever and ever, and never got uncoiled.... Is it possible, I wonder, that there is any analogy between the case of Coketown...and the little Gradgrinds?...the craving grew in them for some physical relief...which craving must and would be satisfied, or must and would inevitably go wrong, until the laws of the Creation were repealed. (*H. T.*; p. 19)

Dickens is well aware of the moral tragedy that may result from an upbringing based on perfidious values. In the midst of their bleak, unnatural surroundings, the siblings have no alternative but to seek affectionate companionship at the symbolic fireside with each other. As the years of adolescence pass, and as the children's feelings of futility and frustration grow, so does their need for each other. As the narrator explains, Tom and Louisa are alone, and their conversation is most suggestive and intimate as they declare their

love. To intensify the motif of their fall from grace, Dickens surrounds them with flickering firelight:

"I hate everybody except you [Loo]," said the unnatural young Thomas Gradgrind...at twilight...sitting astride a chair before the fire...His sister sat in the darker corner by the fireside, now looking at him, now looking at the bright sparks as they dropped on the hearth.... "I don't know what this...jail...would be like without you..."

"Tom," said his sister after silently watching the sparks awhile, "as I get older...I often sit wondering here how unfortunate it is for me that I can't reconcile you to home better than I am able to do... It's a great pity, Tom..."

[And her brother answered], "You are the only pleasure I have..." (*H. T.*; p. 40)

Nevertheless, Tom's guilt becomes even greater as the time eventually arrives when he realizes the material value of his intimate tie with his sister. Aware of her emotional vulnerability, he takes advantage of her misguided love and adds further insult to her moral destruction. Tom announces his desire for a position at Bounderby's bank but suggests that only Louisa's positive response to Bounderby's romantic interests will secure his aspiration. It is not surprising to discover, then, that Dickens summons the tell-tale image of firelight to illuminate Tom's willingness to exploit his sister, to prostitute her love for his own selfish end:

Said Tom, laughing, "I shall very well know how to manage and smooth old Bounderby!... It's you... he'll do anything for you, [Loo]".... Tom wearily relapsed...until he looked up, and asked, "Have you gone to sleep, Loo?"

"No, Tom, I am looking at the fire..." "Tom," inquired his sister...as if she were reading what she was asking in the fire... "do you look forward... to this change to Mr. Bounderby's?"

"Yes [he replied], I must go where I can take... advantage of your influence..." Tom went and leaned on the back of her chair to contemplate the fire... "Except that it is a fire," said Tom, "it looks as... blank to me as everything else... What do you see in it?"

"Since I have been looking at it, I have been wondering about you and me grown up... by looking at the red sparks dropping out of the fire... whitening and dying. It made me think... how short my life would be..." (*H. T.*;



pp. 40-41)

As Tom and Louisa pass through the last years of childhood, they spend numerous evenings sitting before the burning embers of Dickens' fire. Tom, the sad product of his calculated environment, moves away from home and becomes situated as Bounderby's employee. Nevertheless, on several subsequent occasions, the young man continues to manipulate his sister by insisting that she respond to the advances of a man she does not love. The day eventually arrives when Tom indicates that he expects Louisa to marry Josiah Bounderby. Again, in the image of smoke, fire, and ash, Dickens presents the scene of Tom's hard-hearted violation and Louisa's disastrous digression:

Time went on in Coketown. . . even into that wilderness of smoke and brick. . . All this while, Louisa had been passing on, so quiet and reserved, and so much given to watching the bright ashes at twilight as they fell into the grate and became extinct. . . leaning her elbow on her hand, looking again at the short lived sparks that so soon subsided into ashes. . . With her hand upon her brother's shoulder, Louisa still stood looking at her fire. Her brother. . . encircling her waist with his arm, drew her coaxingly to him.

"You are very fond of me, an't you, Loo?. . . We might be so oftener together. . . It would do me a great deal of good if you were to make up your mind to I know what, Loo. It would be. . . splendid. . . uncommonly jolly. . ." He pressed her in his arms, and kissed her cheek. She returned his kiss but still looked at the fire. . . She gave him an affectionate goodnight, and went. . . to the door, whence the fires of Coketown could be seen making the distance lurid. . . It seemed as if, first in her own fire within the house, and then in the fiery haze without, she tried to discover what. . . that. . . Spinner of all would weave from the threads he had already spun into a woman. (H. T.; pp. 69, 71, 72-73)

Because of her abnormal attachment to her brother, Louisa is about to become the victim of his moral seduction. The next day, when confronted by her father with Bounderby's marriage proposal, her love for Tom forces her to accept. And as she is caught in the furnace of her guilt and culpability, Dickens highlights the setting with the metaphorical image of her illicit fire:

To this. . . stern room. . . Louisa repaired on the appointed morning. A window looked towards Coketown;

and when she sat down. . . she saw the high chimneys and the long tracks of smoke looming in the heavy distance gloomily. . .

"Louisa. . . Mr. Bounderby has made his proposal of marriage," [said Gradgrind]. . . Silence between them. . . The distant smoke very black and heavy. . . Removing her eyes from him she sat so long looking silently toward the town, that he said, at length: "Are you consulting the chimneys of. . . Coketown. . . , Louisa?"

"There seems to be nothing there but languid and monotonous smoke. Yet when the night comes, FIRE bursts out, father!" she answered, turning quickly; [then she answered], "Let it be so. . . I am satisfied to accept his proposal. . ." As she said it, she unconsciously closed her hand. . . and slowly opened it as though she were releasing dust or ash. (H. T.; pp. 73-74, 76-77)

Within a few weeks, Louisa marries Josiah Bounderby; but even as she packs for her wedding trip, she is still thinking of Tom. Thus, it is evident throughout Book I of *Hard Times* that Dickens artfully enhances the motif of sin and guilt in the luminous imagery of fire. Nevertheless, Louisa, caught in the burning coals of her deviant emotions, soon finds her life is even more complicated by the presence of Mr. James Harthouse.

The young gentleman comes to Coketown on political business and is invited to the newlywed Bounderbys' home for dinner. He is immediately attracted to Louisa but is curious about her extreme reserve and lack of facial expression. Nevertheless, when Tom arrives, Harthouse quickly notices the strong emotional attachment between brother and sister. He may even suspect that the two share more than an acceptable amount of affection. Tom is impressed by Harthouse and later that evening offers to accompany him home. Because he drinks too much, Tom, again betrays his sister; he supplies Harthouse with the marital information he needs to find his way into Louisa's confidence—to tempt her with an adulterous affair. As Dickens presents Harthouse and Tom, he again enhances the atmosphere of sin as he summons his smoky imagery:

Tom blew his smoke aside, after he had been smoking a little while. . . Mr. Harthouse smiled. . . lounging his back against the chimney piece, so that he stood before the empty fire-grate as he smoked. . .

"My sister Loo," said Tom, ". . . never cared for old Bounderby. . . Why you won't tell me, Mr. Harthouse, that you really suppose my sister Loo does care for old



Bounderby. . . . I persuaded her. . . . I was stuck into old Bounderby's bank, and I knew I should get into scrapes there, if she put old Bounderby's pipe out; so I told her my wishes. . . . She would do anything for me. . . . Besides. . . . Loo is. . . not a common sort of girl. . . as I have often known her sit and watch the fire — for an hour at a stretch." (*H.T.*; pp. 101-103)

Mr. Harthouse, sensing Louisa's frustration, is now aware that she is married to a man she does not love. Therefore, he knows that by showing interest in Tom's welfare he can ingratiate himself into Louisa's confidence. Such is the web of corruption that Dickens continues to weave as he kindles the fire of guilt and sin. As if the depravation of her brother were not enough, Louisa must now cope with the clever, cunning advances of Harthouse. Once more, to magnify Harthouse's vile character, Dickens evokes the ritual of searing imagery:

Harthouse rose early. . . smoking the rare tobacco. . . . He had established a confidence with her [Louisa], from which her husband was excluded. He had established a confidence with her that absolutely turned upon her indifference towards her husband. . . . When the devil goeth. . . he is trimmed, smoothed, varnished. . . used up as brimstone. . . whether [or not] he take. . . to the kindling of red fire, he is the very Devil. (*H. T.*; p. 147)

During the first few months of Louisa's marriage to Bounderby, Tom manages to accumulate a number of gambling debts, which his sister compliantly alleviates from time to time. In order to gain Louisa's affection, Harthouse offers to take Tom under his wing, to counsel him in order to free his sister from further financial burden. Nevertheless, the news breaks in Coketown that the bank has been robbed, and Louisa secretly suspects Tom of the crime. That night, Louisa silently waits for her brother to return home. When she hears him come in, she steals to his room and begs him to confide in her. Her pleas and promises of loyalty are to no avail; Tom will admit nothing, and Louisa, in great remorse over his predicament, becomes more involved with Harthouse. Surprisingly enough, however, when Bounderby is away on business and the perfect opportunity arises for Harthouse to declare his love, Louisa, holding on to the last thread of her virtue, refuses the man's advances and flees to the home of her father. Hence, Dickens brings the theme of sin and and guilt full circle as he summons the setting of smoke, fire, and ash to augment Louisa's anguish as she reproaches her father for her abnormal upbringing — in essence, for the ruin of her life:

Mr. Gradgrind was at home. . . . When it thundered very loudly, he glanced towards Coketown, having it in mind that some of the tall chimneys might be struck by lightning. . . . He looked around. . . and saw, with amazement, his eldest daughter.

"Louisa!"

"Father, I want to speak to you," cried Louisa. . . . "I curse the hour in which I was born to such a destiny. . . . O father, what have you done with the garden that should have bloomed once, in this great wilderness here. . . . If it had ever been here, its ashes alone would save me from the void in which my whole life sinks. . . . Tom had been the subject of all the little tenderness of my life. . . ." Her father. . . saw a wild dilating fire in her eyes, steadfastly regarding him. . . . Her father's face was ashy white, and he held her in both his arms. . . . [Louisa continued], "he [Harthouse] has been with me, declaring himself my lover. . . . I have not disgraced you. But if you ask whether I . . . love him. . . I don't know. . . . I do not know that I am sorry. . . ashamed. . . degraded in my own esteem. All I know is, your philosophy. . . will not save me." (*H. T.*; pp. 164-167)

Louisa's fall into the perils of sin and guilt culminates as she collapses that night and is put to bed in her father's home where she remains for the rest of her life, as she never returns to Bounderby, nor does she ever remarry. Mr. James Harthouse abruptly leaves Coketown, as does Tom, for he must also flee the scene of his crime. Thus, as Dickens enlightens his readers as to what is to come to pass in the future of his characters, it is only befitting that he should again employ the symbolic images of smoke, fire, and ash:

"Here was Louisa. . . watching the fire as days of yore with a gentler and humbler face. . . and a lonely brother. . . and then a letter. . . saying "he died. . . of fever. . . and died in penitence and love of you. . . ." (*H. T.*; p. 226)

In the end, it is evident throughout both *Great Expectations* and *Hard Times* that Dickens implicitly employs the imagery of smoke, fire, and ash as an integral part of his artistic design. As he illustrates the tragedies and misplaced priorities imminent in a mechanized world, he evokes the ritual of his fiery images to illuminate the blazing path of moral destruction. As Pip succumbs to the temptation of the gleaming glitter of wealth, his dream is rendered dull and dim in the light of Dickens' blazing images, and, consequently, becomes the nightmare of a raging inferno. And



Louisa, as she lusts for love upon a forbidden hearth, soon discovers that her soaring passion is mothered in the ashes of moral decay. As clearly apparent in *Great Expectations* and *Hard Times*, the imagery of smoke, fire, and ash become the subtle, multidimensional symbols for the guilt and culpability of those characters who fall victim to a perfidious set of Victorian mores. Thus, Dickens appropriately concludes the epilogue of *Hard Times* in a metaphor of fiery imagery:

Dear Reader! It is with you and me, whether, in our true fields of action, similar things shall be or not. Let them be! We shall sit. . . on the hearth to see the ashes of our fires turn gray and cold. (*H. T.*; p. 227)

#### NOTES

1. Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations* (New York: Peebles Press, 1954), pp. 9, 13. All further references to this work are made in the text.
2. Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1966), p. 10. All further references to this work are made in the text.

#### RECONSTRUCTING THE RISE AND FALL OF MODALISM IN ROME

by J. Webb Mealy

This paper will attempt to trace the rise of the Christological doctrine known as Sabellianism. In simplest terms, this doctrine denies that God the Father is a distinct person from Jesus Christ, and affirms that the names "Father" and "Son" refer to the same person, being different ways in which God presents Himself to men. Tertullian and Hippolytus were both contemporaries with Sabellius, but only Hippolytus mentions him. He seems to have good reasons for respecting him and assigning his "heresy" to others. As we will see, a good amount of detective work is needed in order to get a coherent picture of the doctrine connected with the name of Sabellius and the chain of events which led up to his excommunication by the bishop at Rome.

The essay will be divided into two basic sections. The first will introduce our sources and their characterizations of Sabellianism. It will also define and give background information for such theological terms as "patripassianism" and "modalistic monarchianism." The second section will deal with some thorny problems of identification which complicate the historical picture, such as the true identity of "Praxeas" against whom Tertullian wrote, and the true character of Callistus, the bishop who excommunicated Sabellius, yet whom Hippolytus identifies as the real villain of the whole affair.

#### SECTION ONE: SOURCES.

The descriptive name which is usually given to Christologies which identify Jesus with the Father is "modalistic monarchianism." "Monarchianism" seems to have been coined by Tertullian<sup>1</sup> to describe the views of theologians who were so concerned to preserve the "monarchy," or sole rule of God (by which term they always understood God, the Father of Jesus), that they would not allow both the full deity and the distinct personhood of Jesus *vis-a-vis* the Father.<sup>2</sup> They could not reconcile monotheism with the idea of a plurality of Persons in the Godhead, so they tended to accuse trinitarians of "tritheism."<sup>3</sup>



Tertullian gives a very good analysis of the problem: The simple, indeed (I will not call them unwise and unlearned), who always constitute the majority of believers, are startled at the dispensation [*ὁκνοῦντες*] (of the Three in One), on the ground that their very rule of faith withdraws them from the world's plurality of gods to the one only true God. . . .<sup>4</sup>

Whereas some theologians dealt with this problem by denying the deity of Christ and proposing, for instance, adoptionism,<sup>5</sup> other monarchians did so by claiming that the Father Himself was incarnate, suffered, and rose. They thus became known as patripassians, since their doctrine implied that God the Father was prone to change and suffering, which was considered blasphemy.<sup>6</sup> The modern term "modalistic monarchianism" encompasses patripassianism, but it also includes more sophisticated Christologies, especially those which see in the Father and Son successive "modes," or ways in which God reveals Himself to men, rather than two persons.<sup>7</sup> It may be noticed that the question of the Holy Spirit and His place in the Godhead is absent. This is because the Christological question had to be settled before a clear view of the Holy Spirit could be formulated.<sup>8</sup> Tertullian in this respect was ahead of his time, for while his colleagues were being called "ditheists" by the modalists,<sup>9</sup> he was doing theology in such a way as to leave no doubt that he respected the full deity and personhood of the Holy Spirit.<sup>10</sup> If anything, he would have to have been accused of being a "tritheist."

Having defined the terms somewhat, the next task is to introduce the sources for the historical rise of modalistic Christologies. The earliest source usually claimed is Justin Martyr,<sup>11</sup> who died ca. 165. Consequently, if he can be proved to have known of modalism, it can be shown to be quite early indeed. The following quoted passages are cited:

And this power, which the prophetic word calls God. . . is not "numbered" as different in name only, like the light of the sun, but is indeed something numerically distinct. . . this power was begotten from the Father, not by abscission, as if the essence of the Father were divided (as all other things partitioned and divided are not the same after as before they were divided).

(*Dialogue with Trypho* 128)<sup>12</sup>

The Jews, accordingly, being throughout of the opinion that it was the Father of the universe who spake to Moses

in the burning bush, though He who spake to him was indeed the Son of God, who is called both Angel and Apostle, are justly charged. . . with knowing neither the Father nor the Son. For they who affirm that the Son is the Father are proved neither to have become acquainted with the Father, nor to know that the Father of the universe has a Son, who also, being the first-begotten Word of God, is even God.

(*I Apology* 63)<sup>13</sup>

I think careful reflection on the context of these two passages proves not that Justin knew of modalistic Christology (in the church or not) but just the opposite. In both cases he is exegeting Old Testament passages polemically against the Jews, and his clarification (convincing or not) as to the distinction between Christophany and Theophany depends on the expected Jewish retort that what Justin has called a Christophany is in actuality only a Theophany. Justin does say, in the first passage quoted above, that "some teach that this power [e.g. of appearance, as in the burning bush on Sinai] is indivisible and inseparable from the Father. . . in this way, they also declare, God also made the angels." The last clause about the angels proves that Justin is not talking about Christian modalists but about Jewish angelologies such as that of Philo.<sup>14</sup> In conclusion, the apparent ease with which Justin's arguments may be explained in context of the argument at hand, and his silence about a Christian or heretical modalism (in the face of his normal candidness in admitting other Christian views),<sup>15</sup> combine to rule out the supposition that he knew of, or intended to respond to, a modalist Christology.

Chronologically, the first clear source for facts about the history of modalism is Tertullian.<sup>16</sup> He wrote (ca. 210) a brilliant tract called *Against Praxeas*, in which he gave but a few clues as to the origin of modalism, but in which he set forth a trinitarian theology surpassing in clarity and balance all other pre-Nicene attempts.<sup>17</sup> His opponent, Praxeas, was "the first to import into Rome this kind of heretical pravity" (i.e. patripassianism or modalism),<sup>18</sup> a statement which will have to be interpreted carefully in the next section. Tertullian seems himself to have been a virtual contemporary of Praxeas, and he claims to have eradicated a version of the latter's heresy which spread as far as Carthage, where Tertullian resided.<sup>19</sup> Depending on whether and how confidently Praxeas can be identified in relation to our second contemporary source, Hippolytus, we may be able to form a fairly coherent picture of the shape of modalistic influence during the first quarter of the third



century.

Hippolytus is a problematic character. On the one hand, he was a resident of Rome and could claim to have watched the developments regarding the various teachers of modalism and their relations with the bishops at the time,<sup>20</sup> but on the other, he seems to have had a rather biased point of view in the matter. As a matter of fact, he viewed Callistus, the bishop who excommunicated Sabellius, as a heretic and a troublemaker.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, he evinces a pure and rancorous disrespect for Callistus and assigns him a villainous role of giving official aid and sanction to the modalist position and its proponents.<sup>22</sup> Not surprisingly, the Roman Catholic church has put little if any stock in his analysis.<sup>23</sup> Without the assumption that a Roman bishop can never be a heretic, though, there seems no reason to dismiss his view. Hippolytus is recognized as a clear-headed thinker and theologian,<sup>24</sup> and he seems to have been the one person who knew and reasoned with Sabellius personally.<sup>25</sup> My policy will therefore be to accept Hippolytus' account, knowing the risk of distortion. Rather than proposing alternate versions at various points, I will expect the reader to keep in mind the fact that Hippolytus is a biased witness, and I recommend suspending final judgment where possible character assassination is detected.

## SECTION TWO: HARMONIZING HIPPOLYTUS AND TERTULLIAN.

The problem is this: Tertullian, writing ca. 210, produces a tract against a certain modalist who, he says, was the first to import the heresy from Asia Minor into the city of Rome. Hippolytus, writing as one who was present and involved with the developments which he reports, makes no mention of the character which Tertullian gave a central role.<sup>26</sup> My attempt at a solution will be to match up details in the two accounts to show a striking correspondence between what Tertullian says about Praxeas and what Hippolytus says about Callistus, the bishop of Rome. The identification is by no means certain, but it seems to make the best sense of the circumstantial evidence contained in the combined reports.

Here is Tertullian's report:

...Praxeas was the first to import into Rome from Asia this kind of heretical pravity, a man in other respects of restless disposition, and above all inflated with the pride of confessorship simply and solely because he had to bear for a short time the annoyance of imprisonment, though even if he had given his body over to be burned, it would have

profited him nothing.

(*Adv. Prax.* 1)

Hippolytus relates (in *Ref. Her.* 9.7) that Callistus, who was a slave of a Christian in Rome, embezzled a large amount of money. On the verge of being caught, he burst into a Jewish synagogue and started a commotion, claiming that someone there owed him money. When he was brought before the magistrate, he claimed to be a Christian, to raise a smokescreen, and was sent to the mines of Sardinia. When, a short time later, some martyrs from Rome were released, he seems to have connived a way to get released with them, even though the officials and the bishop of Rome knew he was not sent for being a Christian at all. Thus we have allegations against both Praxeas and Callistus that they were fraudulent Christian martyrs.

After the Bishop of Rome had acknowledged the prophetic gifts of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, and... had bestowed his peace on the churches of Asia and Phrygia, Praxeas, insisting on the authority of the bishop's predecessors in the see, compelled him to recall the pacific letter which he had issued, as well as to desist from his purpose of acknowledging the said gifts.

(*Adv. Prax.* 1)

Most commentators suppose that the "Bishop of Rome" referred to above was Victor, the predecessor of Zephyrinus,<sup>27</sup> but that does not square well with the facts.<sup>28</sup> As Eusebius records, Victor was never on good terms with the churches in Asia, due to the quartodeciman conflict.<sup>29</sup> Further, there were public debates during Zephyrinus' episcopate (after ca. 190) in Rome which showed Montanism to have been still under discussion.<sup>30</sup> The bishop whom Hippolytus alleges to have had an advisor sympathetic to modalism and fond of inter-church politicking was none other than Zephyrinus; and given Victor's hostile relations with the Asian churches, the comment about "precedent" in Tertullian's remarks makes sense. In Hippolytus' words, Zephyrinus' advisor was "a man cunning in wickedness and subtle where deceit is concerned... and so it was that Callistus succeeded in inducing Zephyrinus to create continually disturbances among the bretheren..."<sup>31</sup> Callistus had been sent away by Victor to avoid a scandal, but when the latter died, he became Zephyrinus' advisor and caused him to condone modalism in Rome.<sup>32</sup> Tertullian's statement then fits:

By this Praxeas did a twofold service for the devil at Rome: he drove away prophecy, and he brought in heresy; he put to flight the Paraclete, and he crucified the Father.

(*Adv. Prax.* 1)



The third point of contact between Tertullian and Hippolytus' accounts is at the point of doctrine: the Modalism which Hippolytus refutes in *Ref. Her.* is very similar to that which Tertullian argues against in *Adv. Prax.*, with one striking fact in addition. Hippolytus reports that Callistus added an unexpected twist to the doctrine of modalism, to make it appear orthodox:

Now Callistus brought forward Zephyrinus himself, and induced him publicly to avow the following sentiments: "I know that there is one God, Jesus Christ; nor except Him do I know any other that is Begotten and amenable to suffering." And on another occasion, he would make the following statement: "The Father did not die, but the Son." Zephyrinus would in this way continue to keep up ceaseless disturbance among the people.

(*Ref. Her.* 9.6)

Also:

Callistus contends that the Father suffered along with the Son; for he does not wish to assert that the Father suffered and is one Person, being careful [!] to avoid blasphemy against the Father.

(*Ibid.*)

Tertullian reports that this very same absurd move was made by Praxeas and his school:

The heretics, indeed, fearing to incur direct blasphemy against the Father, hope to diminish it by this expedient: they grant *so far* that the Father and the Son are Two; adding that, since it is the Son who suffers, the Father is only His fellow-sufferer.

(*Adv. Prax.* 29)

There are two problems with identifying Praxeas with Callistus. First, Hippolytus' account does not seem to harmonize well with Tertullian's statement what Praxeas (Callistus?) "was the first to import into Rome"<sup>33</sup> the heresy of modalism. As Hippolytus recounts it,<sup>34</sup> a certain Smyrnan by the name of Noetus (who was more of a disciple of Heraclitus than a Christian) trained a disciple named Epigonus. Epigonus came to Rome and joined with Cleomenes, another unbeliever, in disseminating a version of Noetus' doctrine which was in appearance Christian, and began to attract followers from among the Christians.

Hippolytus goes on to claim that cupidity and lust for power made Zephyrinus and his mentor (and successor as bishop) Callistus cooperate with this heresy. "Praxeas" is never mentioned, but Sabellius is characterized as an honest and sincere (if misled)

theologian who is caught off guard by a sinister Callistus and used for the latter's political gain.<sup>35</sup>

It seems to me that the problem may be solved by considering Tertullian's point of view. If, as Hippolytus claims, the first modalists in Rome were obviously no more than Heraclitian gnostics using Christian terms, the deceitful interaction between Callistus and Sabellius might well be seen by Tertullian as the first real "importation," i.e. invitation, of the heresy into the church itself. This is borne out by the fact that in Tertullian's mind, there was an intimate connection between Praxeas' "driving out of the Holy Spirit" and his "crucifying" of the Father.<sup>36</sup> This "double service which Praxeas did for the Devil at Rome" was a divisive political ploy which could have been made only by someone with the ecclesiastical influence of Callistus, who had designs on the episcopate.<sup>37</sup>

The second problem with identifying Praxeas with Callistus is that it seems odd that Tertullian would write against Callistus using a pseudonym. The best that can be done in response to this fact is to suggest some reasonable motive or establish that he elsewhere avoided using the names of those against whom he was arguing. Both can be done easily. First, "Praxeas" is a name which is unknown apart from this tract and citations of it,<sup>38</sup> which suggests that it is a sort of nick-name. The English equivalents "Tradesman"<sup>39</sup> and "Nosey"<sup>40</sup> have been offered, both of which would be particularly apt descriptions, in an ironic vein, of Callistus at the height of his influence buying. They also may be seen as reflecting acidly on his escapades before his "martyrdom" at Sardinia. This brings up the motive: if Callistus had as much influence in the Roman church as Hippolytus claimed, any open attack could simply result in political moves against Tertullian or a devastating scandal to the church. Tertullian was more intent on fighting the heresy than exposing a scandalous situation too far gone to remedy with words. Tertullian's tract "On Modesty"<sup>41</sup> shows just this reticence to use names: though he was outraged by the laxity of the Roman bishop in letting adulterers be readmitted to fellowship, he only referred to him as "Pontifex Maximus." This ironic allusion to the title of the Roman emperor may well be in response to Callistus' maneuvers to get ecclesiastical control.<sup>42</sup> He also used the term "Psychiki" to refer to those who were of the Roman bishop's party (as opposed to the spiritual Christians, especially the Montanists).<sup>43</sup> This oblique reference is also found in the immediate context of Tertullian's comments about the influence of Praxeas in Rome in *Adv. Prax.* 1.

All in all, I think the case may be considered strong for the



identification of Praxeas and Callistus. The real issue is whether the man whom Tertullian and Hippolytus condemned as a modalist and a heretic in fact *was* one. The theoretical possibility remains that both were wrong or biased in the extreme, but the arguments for their unreliability as separate theologians tend to cancel one another out: Hippolytus was accused of being a ditheist (which, if true, could explain his accusation that Callistus was a modalist), but Tertullian was the most brilliant trinitarian theologian of the age. Tertullian was a Montanist, but Hippolytus had no sympathy for Montanism *at all*.<sup>44</sup> The one issue which they agreed on completely was that church discipline was undergoing fatal collapse in Rome. They were both rigorists who vehemently detested an impure church.<sup>45</sup> But this was good reason for them to reject lying and false witness as tactics, even though their opponents did so as their *modus operandi*.

A summary of this section's findings is in order. I will therefore offer a chronology for the rise and dissemination of modalism, using the harmonized accounts of Hippolytus (*Cont. Noet.*, and *Ref. Her.*) and Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.*).

Sometime late in the second century, a man named Noetus composed a heresy in Asia Minor. This heresy, based on the Heraclitian doctrine of the mutability of ultimate reality, affirmed that it was God the Father who was incarnate in Jesus, who being passable, suffered and died. During the episcopate of Zephyrinus, two of his pupils came to Rome and formed a school. At this time, Sabellius, a serious Christian, became influenced by these doctrines and began to teach a biblically based form of them in the church. Callistus, the advisor to Zephyrinus, became aware of a growing faction of modalists and began to encourage Zephyrinus to give support to them, and by "playing the ends against the middle," to solidify his own influence. In this way, Sabellius and his party were given the approval of the bishop. Meanwhile, Hippolytus came on the scene and tried to reason with Sabellius, arguing that he had been duped by Callistus out of political motives, but the former sincerely believed the modalistic doctrine. Finally, when Zephyrinus died, Callistus mounted the episcopal throne and consolidated his support by excommunicating Sabellius.<sup>46</sup> Modalism therefore began to die out in Rome,<sup>47</sup> since it had served Callistus' purpose.

The problem was that as early as the first ten years of the third century the modalistic doctrine began to rebound back to Asia and beyond, due to its endorsement by Zephyrinus; and the 'tares of Praxeas had then everywhere shaken out their seed,' and had "produced their fruit here [Carthage] also."<sup>48</sup> Tertullian appears to have been successful in curbing the doctrine in his immediate area,

but the East had further problems with it for the next twenty-five years (until ca. 360) after it had ceased to be a threat in Rome.<sup>49</sup> The disturbing conclusion is that one man's lust for power caused the flourishing of modalism for fifty years.

## NOTES

1. The term is first found in Tertullian's *Adv. Prax.* 10. That he coined the term is suggested by A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, trans. from the 3rd German ed., by Neil Buchanan (New York: Russell and Russell, 1958), III, p. 52. Also, Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Pr., 1971), p. 176.
2. John N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978), p. 119.
3. Epiphanius, *Against Eighty Heresies*, 62.2.6; quoted by Pelikan, p. 179.
4. Tertullian, *Against Praxeas*, 4. Edition: Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., *The Anti-Nicene Fathers III*, American Edition (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1962), p. 599.
5. E.g., an adoptionist who would presumably have been a contemporary of Sabellius in Rome would be Theodotus the money changer, whose mentor, Theodotus the leatherworker, was credited with originating the doctrine. The latter, according to Harnack, came to Rome ca. 190. See *History of Dogma III*, p. 20ff. For further information, see "Adoptionism," *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, J.D. Douglas, gen. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974), p. 13.
6. E.g. Tertullian, *Adv. Prax.* 29 (see also *infra*, p. 6f.).
7. Kelly, p. 121f.
8. Pelikan, p. 184f.
9. E.g. Hippolytus, *Ref. Her.* 9.7.
10. Tertullian, *Adv. Prax.* 2.
11. E.g. Kelly, p. 119f.
12. Edition: Ludwig Schopp, ed. dir., *The Fathers of the Church VI*, p. 347f.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 347, nt. 2. (no primary ref.)
15. See, e.g., *Dial. Tryph.* 80.
16. Harnack, p. 59ff.
17. "Tertullian," in *N.I.D.C.C.*, p. 960.
18. Tertullian, *Adv. Prax.* 1. All further references to the Fathers will be to editions already noted.
19. So much seems to be the intent of this statement: "Praxeas' tares had been moreover sown, and had produced their fruit here also, while many were asleep in the simplicity of doctrine; but these tares actually seemed to have been discovered and exposed by him whose agency God was pleased to employ" (*Adv. Prax.* 1). A hypothesis which no one has suggested, but which is not necessarily out of the question, is that Tertullian refers (him whose agency. . .) to none other than Hippolytus, who seems to have scored a decisive (if short lived) victory in Rome over modalism (see *Ref. Her.* 9.2). The reason for the oblique reference would then be accounted for by the



fact that Hippolytus and he were on opposite sides of the montanist controversy.

20. *Ref. Her.* 9, 1f.
21. *Ibid.*, 9, 2; 6; 7; 10.23.
22. *Ibid.*
23. See, e.g. "Callistus" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, (London: The Encyclopedea Press, 1908), v.3, pp. 183-185.
24. See, e.g. the biographical notes to Eusebius' section on him in *Church History* by Arthur C. McGiffert, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* I, gen. eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961), p. 269f., nt. 1,2.
25. *Ref. Her.* 9.6: "...during our admonition Savellius did not evince obduracy..."
26. The relevant works by Hippolytus (which I failed to mention above in "sources,") are: *The Refutation of All Heresies* and *Against Noetus*.
27. E.g. Robertson and Donaldson III, p. 654, nt. 12.
28. The conjecture is based on a statement by the anti-Montanist "Pseudo-Tertullian" who wrote ca. 300: "One Praxeas introduced a heresy which Victorinus (sic!) was careful to corroborate." Oehler (see nt. 27 *supra*), suggested that "Pseudo-Tertullian" had Victor and Zephyrinus confused, and attached the suffix "-inus" to Victor's name, producing "Victorinus." I conjecture, however, that if he was confused, he would be more likely to remember the number of syllables than the name itself; thus *Zephyrinus* is intended, and Praxeas would be his advisor in *Adv. Prax.* 1 (see p. 6, *supra*, for the quote). Also, Harnack (p. 60, nt. 3) notes, very interestingly (though he does not come to the suggestive conclusion), "...the expression 'curavit' [i.e., corroborate] points to high position, and is exactly paralleled by the 'sunairesthai' used by Hippolytus in referring to *Zephyrinus* and *Callistus*." (emphasis mine) Harnack says, in short, that the relationship which "Pseudo-Tertullian" alleges between "Victorinus" and Praxeas, is the exact relationship which Hippolytus alleges between Zephyrinus and Callistus. For the weightier reasons for supposing that Victor was *not* the bishop intended by Tertullian, see *infra*.
29. See *Church History* 5.24. The quartodeciman issue was about the timing of the celebration of Good Friday and Easter, and it seems that there was and had been a contest of ecclesiastical authority between the East and West, of which these was only a symptom. The supposition that Victor ever wrote an ironic letter to the churches of Asia (much less to the Montanists) is extremely unlikely for the following reason: on one hand Hippolytus evinces high respect for Victor, and calls him "the blessed Victor" (*Ref. Her.* 9.7), but on the other, he plainly considers the quartodecimans despicable heretics. "But there are others [the Montanists] who themselves are even more heretical in nature than [the quartodecimans]." (*Ref. Her.* 8.11; 12.) That Victor could have retained Hippolytus' respect after first accepting the Montanists and quartodecimans and *then* the Modalists is simply inconceivable.
30. *Ibid.*, 2.25.
31. *Ref. Her.* 9.6.
32. *Ibid.*, 9.7.
33. See *supra*, p. 6.
34. See *Ref. Her.* 9.2.
35. *Ibid.*, 9.6.

36. See *supra*, p. 7.

37. Such is Hippolytus' analysis, which may well be biased. Yet, the connection remains between his and Tertullian's view, since the latter is manifestly critical of the Roman church's motives. He considers them "psychiki." See *Adv. Prax.* 1.
38. Harnack, p. 59, nt. 7.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Kelly, p. 121.
41. Edition: Roberts and Donaldson IV, pp. 74-101.
42. *Ibid.*, chap. 1. Even if some other bishop is intended, the point is still forceful.
43. *Ibid.*
44. See *Ref. Her.* 10.21; 22.
45. "Tertullian" and "Hippolytus" in *N.I.D.C.C.*
46. *Ref. Her.* 9.6.
47. Harnack, p. 58F.
48. *Adv. Prax.* 1.
49. Harnack, p. 88ff.



# THE PRESS AND THE KENNEDY-NIXON DEBATES OF 1960

by Catherine Evans Hancock

One night near the end of the 1960 presidential election, then-Senator John F. Kennedy was watching a rerun of a debate between himself and then-Vice President Richard Nixon. Kennedy turned to his press secretary, Pierre Salinger, and remarked: "We wouldn't have had a prayer without that gadget."<sup>1</sup>

Many analysts—some of them experts on politics and television and more of them armchair commentators—have attributed Kennedy's victory in the 1960 presidential election to the four televised debates between him and Richard M. Nixon.

An even greater number of social scientists and political analysts have tried to find out exactly how and to what extent the debates affected the vote. As of 1968, Elihu Katz and Jacob J. Feldman had located 31 independent studies of public response to the debates. They concluded that the debates had prompted "the largest number of studies of a single public event in the history of opinion and attitude research."<sup>2</sup>

What many of those studies have determined, and what will be shown in this paper, is that the debates were only one of several factors that influenced the 1960 election. My paper will also examine the background of the debates, their format and the issues discussed, and criticisms of them.

In the November 10, 1960, issue of *Reporter Magazine*, Douglass Cater wrote:

The idea . . . has been traced to a Michigan newspaperman, the late Blair Moody, who in 1952, while serving the unexpired Senate term of Arthur Vandenberg, had a sudden vision of television's enormous potential in the field of political debate. His suggestion for such a debate, in the testimony of one network head, "quickly seized the imagination of . . . broadcasters."<sup>3</sup>

Theodore White theorizes that the suggestion was finally acted upon in 1960 because "it was a time for the upgrading of television, and the Presidential campaign of 1960 seemed to offer a fine

opportunity for public service. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Thus, on July 28, 1960, NBC's Robert W. Sarnoff invited Nixon and Kennedy to appear together during prime time to debate "the issues confronting our country" over television and radio. Sarnoff's original proposal was for eight prime time hours of debate broadcast exclusively on NBC networks.<sup>5</sup>

But in accepting Sarnoff's proposal,

Nixon . . . reminded Sarnoff that similar proposals had been made by ABC and CBS and suggested that their representatives also be present so that the proposals could be coordinated. . . . The three networks quickly agreed to collaborate. . . .<sup>6</sup>

Although the Kennedy forces thought their candidate would best be served by a fifth debate,<sup>7</sup> and although Nixon fought to restrict their number, according to White, a series of four was finally decided upon.<sup>8</sup>

In *The People Machine*, Robert MacNeil says that "the networks wanted the traditional format . . . in which the candidates would make opening statements and then question each other directly."<sup>9</sup> But according to a letter to *U.S. News and World Report* signed by officials of CBS, NBC, ABC, and Mutual News, although the networks proposed such a format at least twice, "representatives of the candidates proposed, and urged, the panel of newsmen."<sup>10</sup>

Consequently, each debate involved questions by representatives of "NBC News, Mutual News, CBS News, ABC News, United Press International, *Newsday*, the *New York Herald Tribune* and *The Reporter*."<sup>11</sup> Howard K. Smith was moderator.

Each debate, according to Bernard Rubin in *Political Television*, was an hour in length. The first and the last included opening and concluding statements by each candidate in addition to the questions, answers, and comments that filled the entire hour during the second and third debates.<sup>12</sup>

Rubin writes that the first debate, produced by CBS in Chicago, was restricted to "internal or domestic American matters." The second, handled by NBC in Washington, "was based on an agreement of the nominees to 'answer questions on any issue of the campaign.'" The third debate, produced by ABC with the format used in the second, was presented on a split screen, with Nixon speaking in Los Angeles and Kennedy speaking from New York. The fourth debate, also an ABC production, concerned foreign policy.<sup>13</sup>

The first clue as to why Kennedy apparently "won" the first



debate<sup>14</sup> lies in the candidates, preparation for it.

Rubin writes:

A team of Kennedy political advisers assembled at a Chicago hotel in order to distill the vast amount of material they had gathered on the campaign issues. . . . After 24 hours of intensive work, they had prepared a 15-page paper subdivided into some 13 general subject areas. . . . Kennedy had several tutorial "skull sessions" . . . . At the end of this training period, Kennedy took a nap, had dinner and ventured forth to the television studio.<sup>15</sup>

Nixon, on the other hand, spent the day resting in his hotel, according to Rubin, "trying to refresh himself physically after the two weeks of campaigning that had followed a mid-campaign session in the hospital." Nixon's advisers were able only to give him "about 10 minutes of last-minute advice as he went to the studio by car."<sup>16</sup>

Although there was no actual scoring, Kennedy is almost universally considered the winner of the first and the more successful debater overall. According to Katz and Feldman, "a study by the Mass Communications Research Center of the University of Wisconsin concluded that 'Kennedy did not necessarily win the debates, but Nixon lost them.'"<sup>17</sup> Samuel Lubell has written that in his interviewing after the debates, he "did not run into a single Kennedy voter who thought Nixon had 'won' the debates." But, he wrote, "fair numbers of Nixon supporters" said they thought Kennedy gave better answers to questions. Some Nixon supporters even said that "Kennedy is the better man."<sup>18</sup>

An interesting aspect of the win/loss issue is that those who watched the first debate on television thought that Kennedy's performance was clearly superior to Nixon's but that those who listened to the radio "reported that Nixon came over quite well," according to Rubin. He writes:

The radio listener, one is tempted to think, concentrates almost too much on the words of a speech or a debate, while the television viewer concentrates too little on the words and too much on the appearance of the speaker.<sup>19</sup>

A study by the Schwerin Research Corporation, a television testing operation, is discussed by White in *The Making of the President 1960*. The study found that "Kennedy outscored Nixon 39

to 23 (balance undecided) in the first debate, by 44 to 28 in the second debate; lost to Nixon by 42 to 39 in the third debate; and came back to win by 52 to 27 in the last debate."<sup>20</sup>

Rubin concludes that Kennedy's main edge over Nixon was that he was more at ease, better "able to spout figures and percentages and could muster facts and opinions handily."<sup>21</sup>

White writes that one influence on the outcome of the debates was that

Mr. Nixon was debating with Mr. Kennedy as if a board of judges were scoring points: he rebutted and refuted. . . the inconsistencies or errors of his opponent. Nixon was addressing himself to Kennedy—but Kennedy was addressing himself to the audience that was the nation. . . . Nixon . . . was offering no vision of the future that the Republican party might offer Americans—he was concerned with . . . the personal adversary in the studio, not with the mind of America.<sup>22</sup>

Other factors hurting Nixon were his health and his physical appearance on television. White says that Nixon had still not recovered fully from a pre-campaign illness and that he was exhausted by his first two weeks of hard campaigning. White says that Nixon's advisers insisted their candidate lacked the energy to project his message effectively.<sup>23</sup>

White goes on to describe Nixon at the time of the first debate as looking "tense, almost frightened, at turns glowering, and, occasionally, haggard-looking to the point of sickness." White writes:

Probably no picture in American politics tells a better story of crisis and episode than that famous shot of the camera on the Vice President as he half-slouched, his "Hazy Shave" powder faintly streaked with sweat, his eyes exaggerated hollows of blackness, his jaw, jowls and face drooping with strain.<sup>24</sup>

Even incidental things worked against Nixon in the first debate. Thinking the background of the set would be painted a dark gray, Nixon chose a light gray suit, according to White. Yet, the paint used for the background was not as dark as anticipated. Despite additional coats, the background stayed light—a background against which the dark-suited Kennedy stood out strikingly while Nixon and his light suit seemed to sink into the wall.<sup>25</sup>



An enormously large audience got to see Nixon at his worst in the first debate, and throughout the series viewing set records. "With or without issues," White writes, "no larger assembly of human beings, their minds focused on one problem, has ever happened in history."<sup>26</sup> Rubin wrote that "the communications industry estimated that approximately 75 million people watched the first debate."<sup>27</sup> White said that George Gallup estimated that 85 million people watched at least one or all of the debates. NBC surveys indicated that 115 million watched at least one, while CBS adds 5 million to that figure.<sup>28</sup>

According to MacNeil, the audience for the debates was roughly one-half Democrats, one-third Republicans and the rest independent.<sup>29</sup>

A quickly noticed effect of the debates was a significant increase in Kennedy support. White writes:

Any reporter who followed the Kennedy campaign remembers still the quantum jump in the size of the crowds that greeted the campaigning Senator from the morrow of the first debate. . . . His crowds had been growing for a full seven days before the debates, but now, overnight, they seethed with enthusiasm and multiplied in number as if the sight of him, in their homes on the video box, had given him a "star quality" reserved only for television and movie idols. Equally visible was the gloom that descended on Republican leaders around the country. . . .<sup>30</sup>

MacNeil tells the story of 10 Southern governors, none of whom had been overly enthusiastic about his candidacy, who "immediately sent Kennedy a telegram of warm congratulations." MacNeil also tells of Kennedy's consistently lagging behind Nixon with only one exception during August and September of 1960. But, MacNeil wrote, "in the poll published. . . after the first two debates, Kennedy had a substantial lead (49-46 percent), and although the gap narrowed toward election day, Nixon never regained the lead."<sup>31</sup>

For Nixon, White wrote, the debates destroyed the "illusion of separation between himself as the 'experienced heir to Eisenhower' and his junior rival as an 'inexperienced youth.'" <sup>32</sup>

Saul Ben-Zeev and Irving S. White give a different version of the debates' effect on Nixon, saying that they "did not cause Nixon to lose favor with those who favored him in the first place."<sup>33</sup>

The debates' effect on the issues of the 1960 election was largely

negative. MacNeil quotes Douglass Cater, a reporter who covered the debates and the election, as saying that the dialogue of the debates was "largely a paste-up job, containing bits and snippets from campaign rhetoric already used many times. . . . What became clear was how limited the vocabulary of the debates really was and how vague were the candidates' ideas about what to do."<sup>34</sup>

White wrote that "rarely in American history has there been a political campaign that discussed issues less or clarified them less."<sup>35</sup>

Max Ascoli wrote in a *Reporter* editorial that the candidates "used and repeated arguments designed to avoid the risk of over-estimating the people's intelligence."<sup>36</sup>

Lubell found that the use of statistics in the debates annoyed many viewers, prompting him to suggest that newspapers could have helped the electorate considerably by discussing the validity of statistics the opponents used.<sup>37</sup> But Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang found in their research that newspapers had undertaken such analysis. They wrote: "Responses after the last debate showed rather clearly how much people had come to rely on interpretations they had read in newspapers and news magazines. . . ."<sup>38</sup>

Did the debates lead to more intelligent decisions by voters? MacNeil quotes Charles A. Siepmann as saying that "it is by no means certain that, as some people assert, (the debates) contributed to the making of more intelligent decisions by the voters."<sup>39</sup>

According to White, "what they did best was to give the voters. . . a living portrait of two men under stress and let the voters decide, by instinct and emotion, which style and pattern of behavior under stress they preferred in their leader."<sup>40</sup>

Rubin quotes *New York Times* reporter James Reston's story about the first debate. In it, Reston said that the debates didn't "make or break" Nixon or Kennedy but did help stimulate interest in and break the malaise about the election. He also commended the debates for offering a way to inform the electorate "without killing or exhausting both candidates in the process."<sup>41</sup>

Lubell thought one effect of the debates was an increase in "the significance of personality, particularly on its theatrical side" over issues as a basis for voting.<sup>42</sup>

An effect on the electorate that Katz and Feldman discussed was a "strengthening of commitment to one's own party and candidate," particularly among Democrats.<sup>43</sup>

Despite some speculation that the debates led to a greater-than-usual voter turnout, MacNeil said that no studies "found any positive evidence that the debates alone had either caused an important switching in voting intention or significantly increased



voter turnout."<sup>44</sup> Sidney Kraus quoted Siepmann as saying that it is by no means certain that the debates led to the increased voter turnout.<sup>45</sup>

As for the ultimate question of effect—whether the debates sent Kennedy to the White House—it is interesting to note that both candidates thought that “the debates had decided the election,” according to MacNeil.<sup>46</sup>

In *The Making of the President 1960*, White discussed an interesting study that suggested that the debates had, in fact, been a central cause of the Kennedy victory. White wrote:

Dr. Elmo Roper, sampling across the country, ... estimated for CBS that 57 percent of those who voted believed that the TV debates had influenced their decisions. Another 6 percent, or over 400,000 voters (by this sample), ascribed their final decision on voting to the debates alone. Of these 4,000,000 voters, 26 percent (or 1,000,000) voted for Nixon, and 72 percent (or almost 3,000,000) voted for Kennedy. If these extrapolations are true, then 2,000,000 of the Kennedy margin came from television's impact on the American mind—and since Kennedy won by only 112,000 votes, he was entirely justified in stating on the Monday following election, November 12th: “It was TV more than anything else that turned the tide.”<sup>47</sup>

Using the information that absentee ballots cast overseas were overwhelmingly pro-Nixon, Siepmann (quoted in the Kraus book) speculates that this shows the effect of television on bringing votes to Kennedy, since voters overseas had not seen the debates, consequently knew little of Kennedy and may therefore have voted for Nixon, a man they were familiar with.<sup>48</sup>

According to the Lang study of the debates, the impact seems to have favored Kennedy. “But,” they wrote, “Kennedy's gain does not appear to have entailed a large-scale crossing of party lines. Most of the undecided were Democrats-in-conflict, who were won over because Kennedy succeeded in identifying himself with the tradition of the Democratic party.”<sup>49</sup>

Lubell is one observer who said the issue of Kennedy's Catholicism was more influential on the outcome of the race than the debates or perhaps any other factor. “The debates unquestionably stimulated campaign interest,” Lubell wrote, “but my own interviewing indicates that religious prejudice was much more powerful in getting

out the vote. . . . If one examines how the vote fell across the country. . . it becomes clear that the religious issue structured the 1960 vote.”<sup>50</sup>

Though a great deal of effort has been devoted to studying the detrimental and perhaps unfair effects of the presidential debates of 1960, some observers have found much to praise in the use of them.

Writing in the *New Republic*, Phillip M. Stern said:

Not only did the debates expose the candidates to millions; they did so without cost to the candidates or their parties. By thus lessening the enormous party outlays for half-hours of expensive TV time, they thereby lessened the dependence of the parties on the special interests from which both largely derive their support. Anything that reduces the financial obligations of the two parties and thus enhances the President's freedom of action once he is in office is in the public interest.<sup>51</sup>

Stern also said that “the knowledge that any off-base charge or statement might be questioned, either by a newsman or one's opponent in full view of 60 or 70 million people must have made both candidates more wary of what they said.”<sup>52</sup>

A third positive effect, according to MacNeil, is that watching the debates made voters a little less partisan. “. . . Democrats saw that if Richard Nixon won, it would not be a catastrophe,” MacNeil wrote. “Republicans could not help noticing that John F. Kennedy was an intelligent, reasonable human being.”<sup>53</sup>

But criticisms of the debates are easier to find than praise, for the former are far more plentiful. Chief among the complaints are criticisms of the panel of newsmen who questioned Kennedy and Nixon. Kraus quoted Siepmann on the problems involved in using the panel:

The cross-questioning by correspondents seemed, to me, at least, an egregious error. It stole precious time, was an open invitation to snap replies and extended yet further the already diffused area of debate. It also gave mere reporters the power, by the leading questions that they put, to shape in some manner the salient election issues.<sup>54</sup>

Rubin criticizes the panel's choice of questions, saying, “Fewer questions, more carefully considered by their creators and less directed toward the ‘hot news’ approach, would have been more



helpful to the candidates and more constructive to the public."<sup>55</sup>

And the *New Republic* questioned the adequacy of those chosen to question:

The four men named were competent, but were they the most competent available? Taken as a whole, the selections . . . give rise to the suspicion that they are unduly concerned to protect themselves from the charges of partisanship that might ensue were the panelists to get to the bottom of things. Mr. Warren of Mutual . . . might hesitate to press a question which might rub Republicans the wrong way, for his network is now owned outright by Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing, whose Republican sympathies are no secret.<sup>56</sup>

Rubin criticized the debates for paying too much attention to matters of format and not enough attention to the candidates themselves.<sup>57</sup> Lubell wrote that the electorate was confused by the format of the debates and therefore "settled back and judged the debates as a personality contest."<sup>58</sup>

MacNeil wrote that "what perhaps emerges most persistently from all the studies of the debates . . . is that the appearance and behavior of the candidates, the way in which their personalities were transmitted, overshadows what they said."<sup>59</sup>

Lubell was another critic of the importance the debates placed on image. He discussed Henry Steele Commager's theory that "some of our better presidents might have been defeated had they been forced to expose themselves on TV against a more glamorous but less able opponent." Lubell also worried that TV debates could cause a presidency to hinge on a small mistake, "an awkward mannerism, or the effects of poor lighting or pallid makeup."<sup>60</sup>

White also has harsh words for television and consequently has some questions about using it to transmit debates to home audiences. He wrote: "The nature of both TV and radio is that they abhor silence and 'dead time.'" White said that despite what he saw as common knowledge—that providing thoughtful answers to questions takes time—television could not tolerate pauses of more than a half-minute. "Thus," he wrote, "snapping their two-and-a-half minute answers back and forth, both candidates could only react for the camera and the people, they could not think."<sup>61</sup>

## NOTES

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2. Sidney Kraus, ed., *The Great Debates: Background—Perspective—Effects* (Peter Smith, Gloucester, Mass., 1968), p. 173.
3. Douglass Cater, "Notes From Backstage," *The Reporter*, 10 November 1960, p. 19.
4. Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1960* (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1961), p. 281.
5. Bernard Rubin, *Political Television* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1967), p. 49.
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7. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
8. White, p. 283.
9. MacNeil, p. 166.
10. "New Light on the Kennedy-Nixon Debates," *U.S. News and World Report*, 6 March 1961, p. 10.
11. Rubin, p. 50.
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16. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
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22. White, pp. 287-288.
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25. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
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28. White, p. 293.
29. MacNeil, p. 171.
30. White, p. 291.
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32. White, p. 296.
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36. Max Ascoli, "Intermezzo—An Editorial," *The Reporter*, 10 November 1960, p. 18.
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40. White, p. 293.
41. Rubin, p. 53.
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45. Kraus, p. 132
46. MacNeil, p. 170
47. White, p. 294.
48. Kraus, p. 133.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 328.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 160
51. Phillip M. Stern, "The Debates in Retrospect," *New Republic*, 21 November 1960, p. 18.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
53. MacNeil, p. 164.
54. Kraus, p. 136.
55. Rubin, pp. 52-53.
56. "Goodbye, Great Debates," *New Republic*, 26 September 1960, p. 5
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58. Kraus, p. 153.
59. MacNeil, p. 167.
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61. White, p. 292.

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